

The COMMONWEAL

*A Weekly Review of Literature
the Arts and Public Affairs*

FOUNDED BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

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VOLUME XXIX

October 28, 1938

NUMBER 1

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THE COMMONWEAL is indexed in the *Reader's Guide*,
Catholic Periodical Index and *Catholic Bookman*.
Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York.
Annual Subscriptions: U. S. and Canada: \$5.00; Foreign: \$6.00.

Week by Week

PARTIES and pressure groups in New York are going after the "Catholic vote" more obviously this fall than in many years. Maneuvering for this support certainly started in the State Constitutional Convention last summer where the "omnibus proposition" with its group of constitutional amendments was put together for submission to the electorate. Embodying an amendment providing Catholic school children a beginning of proper justice through the school bus clause in a long and various series of propositions dealing with technical and doubtful affairs was no service to Catholics. Seeking justice for their Church, Catholics are forced to take, whether they like them or not, a mass of schemes governing public pay-rolls, municipal utilities, local autonomy, debt

limits, tax assessments and a host of other things, or else throw up the whole thing. The chancellor of the Archdiocese of New York, Monsignor McIntyre, has asked support for Amendment 1 because of the importance of the principle of justice for the school children, and its importance to the religious, charitable and educational organizations of the state. This complication of bloc politics is still more inextricable in the regular New York party contests for public office. Traditionally Democratic, the "Catholic vote" does not seem so certain this year. The candidates nominated and the whole change in politics during the past few years creates uncertainty. Catholics have taken the lead in bringing these complicating factors before the voters, although Catholics have also led the parties in trying to overcome the complexities they have brought. The party tickets, the campaign leaders and cooperatings citizens' committees have been nicely balanced on all sides to prevent a swing of the "Catholic vote" to the other fellow.

WHAT IS the "Catholic vote"? There is no Catholic party in this country for which the Church asks loyalty. The Church has not condemned parties in this country except through its condemnation of atheistic communism, which eliminates the Communist party, the Socialist party and the other Marxian parties. In New York, Catholic citizens have liberty to belong to the Republican and Democratic and American Labor parties (the latter, like the Democratic, has a Catholic candidate for Attorney General, and its nominating convention was opened with an invocation by a Catholic priest), which are the important parties. Joseph F. Lamb, state deputy of the Knights of Columbus, has asked Catholics to "stop voting for Catholics who are such in name only." Justice Herbert A. O'Brien has told the Catholic Daughters of America that Catholics should give up the fetish of party regularity. Sound in themselves, these admonitions should not be interpreted as compelling Catholics to vote for good Catholics, whatever their party labels and platforms. That would be illogical, because if Catholics thought they should support in politics only Catholics and that in the field of government the personal religious test was the exclusively important one, they would form a Catholic party. But a Catholic ought to be a good Catholic whether he is a supporter of the American Labor, Republican or Democratic party, and it would still seem that New York Catholic voters should vote for politicians and parties because they support their politics. They will judge politics, like everything else, from the basis and principles of their faith and philosophy, but in making their particular judgments from this basis and applying them to the contemporary political scene, they will not all end up in the same political camp.

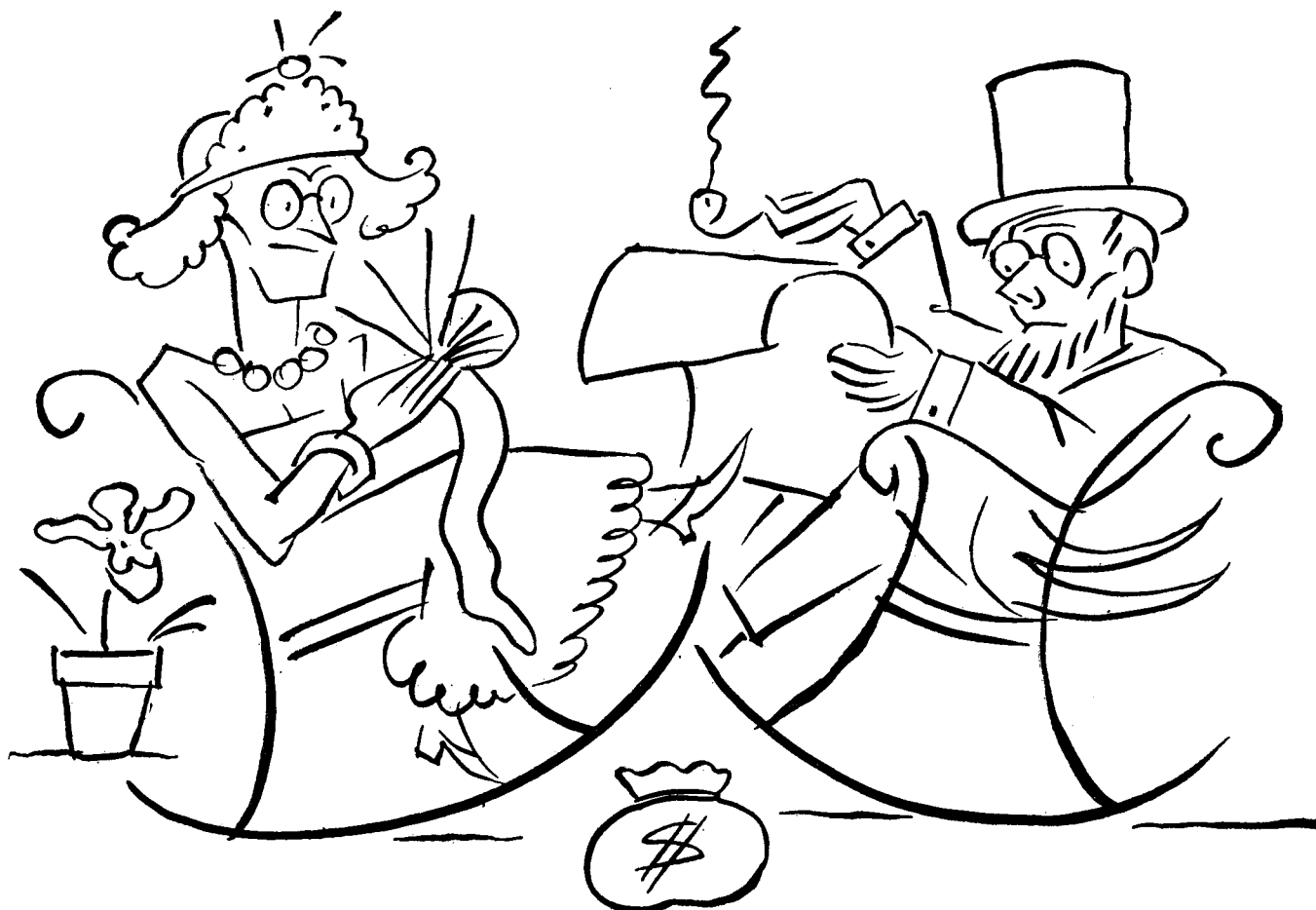
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ALTHOUGH the resurgence of absolute power politics in Europe is primarily responsible, there are powerful factors at home that are swiftly driving the United States toward an unparalleled defense program. These forces should be recognized for what they are, their arguments weighed and discounted and the whole situation viewed calmly and rationally before the American people agree to embark on so unprecedented a course. It is advocated as a means of recovery, where all else has failed, since it would mean expenditures for the heavy industries, for sagging railroads and for public utilities, the industry with the greatest possibility of expansion. And it holds out the hope of sharply decreasing unemployment through the need of more soldiers and sailors and of workers to build and operate new plants. Business men like it, because it is a more conservative method of pump priming than public works. Yet it has been demonstrated in other countries again and again in recent years that rearming kills national prosperity and tragically drags down the standard of living. The administration is said to favor it as another experiment, as a means of explaining away growing deficits and inaugurating genuine government-business cooperation. We must remember all this when in the next few months propaganda attempts to whip up public sentiment for this new American course. How short-sighted it all is!

THE OTHER aspect of the problem, the actual need of new defenses, is another matter. At the moment no one maintains that this country is in imminent danger of overt military attack from any foreign power. What Mr. Baruch and the President's other advisers have in mind is a more distant eventuality — the gradual penetration of Latin America by Germany and Japan. They maintain that once these powers are well-established there economically, it will be a simple matter to establish military bases and isolate the continental United States. Defenses against such a threat do indeed require years of preparation, and it is well for the President to have the most authoritative information possible. But little is being said about the propaganda of France and Britain aimed at replacing Russia by us in the lineup of the "democracies" against the dictators. And even less is being said about the possibilities of real disarmament before the fuse is lighted that will destroy what civilization there is today. Are the biggest navy and the largest air force the surest means of winning the peoples of Latin America? We need cool heads in this country today in the face of such domestic and foreign pressure to keep us from rushing into a program that will hasten a war that would obliterate both the European peoples and ourselves.

PROGRESS all along the line was reported at the eleventh annual biennial congress of the Co-operative League of the U. S. A. just concluded at Kansas City. Labor and the Membership continues to grow and Co-ops cooperative wholesales, auto insurance companies, cooperative international trade, oil refineries, retail stores and other enterprises registered impressive gains. But the most important step signalized at the conference was the possibility of active collaboration between cooperatives and American labor unions. R. E. James, representing William Green of the AFL, told the congress that "a laboring man accomplishes nothing by getting himself a raise in pay, either in a union or outside of it, if that raise comes right back to him in the form of higher prices." Jacob Baker of the CIO, representative of John L. Lewis, called attention to the similarity of the problems of the farm and city worker and advocated organization of both groups. Earlier in the month at Houston, Texas, the fifty-eighth annual convention of the AFL adopted a lengthy resolution commending cooperatives for "stabilizing distribution and employment and lessening business booms and depressions" and increasing buying power. The AFL urges its members engaged in cooperatives to be faithful to true Rochdale principles and concludes, "If the cooperative movement is to become a vital force in our national life, it must go hand in hand with trade union organization." The possibilities of such an alliance are tremendous, as is indicated in Scandinavia, once man's rights and responsibilities both as a consumer and as a producer are integrated into the national economy.

THE OVERSHADOWING feature of the Catholic University's celebration of its fiftieth jubilee was without question the message from the Holy Father. True Human Rights That Dr. Henri Hyvernatt, only survivor of the original faculty, should have been honored by being made a Monsignor must please all those who know how great an adornment he has been to Catholic scholarship, but all such purely personal aspects of the occasion yield before Pope Pius's strong and moving appeal for human freedom. And the enthusiastic response of the bishops gathered together for the jubilee celebration to his suggestion that the University and all Catholic schools concentrate upon the study of civics, sociology and economics offers high hopes for the future. One paragraph of the Sovereign Pontiff's message has been much quoted; it deserves even more, and we can do no better than reproduce it here: "Christian teaching alone, in its majestic integrity, can give full meaning and compelling motive to the demand for human rights and liber-

*Life Begins at Sixty*

ties because it alone gives worth and dignity to human personality. In consequence of his high conception of the nature and gifts of man, the Catholic is necessarily the champion of true human rights and the defender of true human liberties; it is in the name of God Himself that he cries out against any civic philosophy which would degrade man to the position of a soulless pawn in a sordid game of power and prestige, or would seek to banish him from membership in the human family; it is in the same Holy Name that he opposes any social philosophy which would regard man as a mere chattel in commercial competition for profit, or would set him at the throat of his fellows in a blind, brutish class struggle for existence."

CALIFORNIA is an extraordinary state. Of course it is a very large state—its size is about as vividly comprehended by most of us as are American distances by such Europeans as the Englishman who asked a New York friend if he would not be good enough to "run over to Louisville" some day, to do him a little favor! And its population also is quite large

enough to accommodate a considerable diversity of people and ideas. Yet public affairs in California—perhaps it is the Hollywood touch—are conducted in so charmingly crack-pot a manner that they are hard for the rest of us to take very seriously. The current "thirty dollars every Thursday" plan has been promoted thoroughly in this spirit, and has called forth an opposition which expresses itself in the same winning terms. Thus the current California best seller (at twenty-five cents a throw) is a pamphlet, "Ham and Eggs for Californians," with a handsome representation of that delicacy in full—almost super-natural—colors on its cover. And "thirty Thursday" rallies begin with a ham and eggs cheer. The *New York Times* reports that the cheer "goes something like this: 'Five!' with a semi-circular sweep of his [Willis Allen's] arms to the right; 'ten!' with a semi-circular sweep of his arms to the left; then 'fifteen!' 'twenty!' 'twenty-five' and 'thirty!' with similar swings, and a rousing 'ham and eggs' at the end." The opposition has issued vast quantities of imitation paper money, known as "ezeemunny certificates," issued in denomination of "One Thursday Buck," payable in wooden

nickels, and signed by "Pass De Buck," Comptroller, and "Ham N. Eggs," Treasurer. And so the political battle is waged in sunkist land.

WE ARE perhaps unlikely to realize fully the extent of this movement for old-age pensions. In thirteen states this fall major political campaigns are being fought over the issue, and in states as staid as Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Texas, Oklahoma, Oregon, Arkansas, Washington, North Dakota, Idaho, Minnesota, Illinois and California all are considering some variant of Townsendism. In many other states local elections are on the same issue; says the *Christian Science Monitor*, in one of a series of three excellent articles on the question: "Harassed congressmen, who care not one way or the other about the Townsend movement, state informally that they haven't been 'bothered' by anything like it since the old prohibition drive. They vouch for the earnest sincerity of its sponsors." The administration's proposed simplification and amplification of the Social Security Act shows how seriously it takes the pension schemes. To point out the economic unsoundness of the whole business will do little good. If it appeals to the voters, it will come to be. But it will almost certainly be, as it has been in Colorado, "at the expense of other needy — crippled children, the blind, indigent mothers and unemployed."

WHEN Mr. H. L. Mencken calls the Johns Hopkins free obstetrical clinic "the most brutally anti-social agency ever set up in Baltimore," he gives the benefit of his individual pile-driving style to Eugenics a sociological concept unfortunately not confined to himself. This is, that the defective and the diseased should be prevented from procreating, by sterilization and contraception. (As Mr. Mencken's statistics are said to be based on a survey advocating these forms of prevention, he presumably approves them.) This idea that the very real problems connected with the most unfortunate human types can be met by subhuman means is of course at complete variance with Catholic teaching, which compels respect for the dignity and integrity of the human body as partner of the human soul, and which condemns devices permitting unrestrained sexuality as unequivocally immoral and socially harmful. But, religion aside, the idea is at variance with plain common sense as well.

THE TRAITS Mr. Mencken reprehends include not only feeble-mindedness, alcoholism and syphilis but also "mental aberrations or other impediments to normal living" and "habitual or intermittent pauperism." The two last are certainly not categorical guides in the desperately

risky business of depriving people of children; and feeble-mindedness and alcoholism, though implying something more actual, are kept by loose usage and scientific ignorance from implying anything much more definite. For will Mr. Mencken undertake to produce heredity charts showing generally, or a representative concourse of physicians claiming to know enough about heredity to affirm, that the offspring of the classes loosely called alcoholic and feeble-minded are a liability? that they cannot do useful work or lead peaceable lives? that they do not in point of fact regularly contain normal and even supernormal types? Human beings are not to be deprived of their full humanity by the mere taste or conjecture or impatience of those more fortunate than they. Morally uncontrollable types, whose progeny are known to be marked for taint or clear pathological incapacity, can be controlled by segregation. But the problem represented by the free-clinic clientele is not in the main eugenic at all; it is the same problem of morals that confronts us everywhere else, made acute by economic degradation. The need is for character training, sacramental grace and just social laws that obliterate dehumanizing poverty.

BUSINESS optimism, which has clearly been growing rapidly during past weeks, is feeding for the first time in many years on the utility industry. It is believed by many that the nation's defense drive will include huge construction of utilities, and in any case, a group of utility executives have been meeting in Washington mapping out a nation-wide construction program. Enormous bond issues, mostly for refunding, have been successfully floated by several companies. The labor problem in the utility industry has narrower dimensions than in most of the rest of business where union jitters blur the near horizon. The most important consideration, however, is that the industry is losing its symbolic position as standard bearer of the government's most bitter and adamant opposition and target for its first and heaviest attack. The leader in recalcitrance, Electric Bond and Share, has indicated it will comply with the Utility Holding Company Act by December 1, the deadline set by the SEC. That is complying with the first requirements of the hated "death sentence" law. And while the utilities were thus quieting their most loudly rattling sabers, the SEC showed what business considered a cooperative, "flexible" spirit by accepting the reorganization plan of the Republic Electric Power Corporation. Although the road still reaches a long way ahead, all this seems to be news that a monster industry and the government have agreed on the direction to that constructive cooperation which is supposed to lead out of depression. A revival based on the utility business,

checking the political worries of the New Deal and the profit worries of private business, would have an ironic perfection which no other stimulant could afford.

TOGETHER with the rest of the public, we were suitably impressed when the two "theme structures" of the New York World's Fair were made known and to the world. The three-sided Perisphere triangle—very elongated isosceles faces combining into an obelisk—and the sphere are good and esthetically satisfying shapes. Not precisely cosy perhaps—a certain blankness and absence of human suggestion about them definitely bars the mood *intime*. But they are among the simplest and best of geometrical designs, and as such should lend a classic and enduring touch to our Fair, the very reverse of the rococo and gingerbread effects too often featured in expositions. And the crowning touch is their names: "trylon" and "perisphere" may not convey a sharp picture to the one who first hears them pronounced, but there is about them a rumor of the nobly antique. Reading a novel set in the Periclean Age, it would not startle us to find the perisphere entirely surrounded by archons, while the trylon gleamed in the Attic sky. Accordingly we greet with respectful pleasure the news that these two structures, so long heralded among us, are almost complete—the 700-foot trylon is already sheathed in steel at its tip, and the magnesite covering is hardening over the vast perisphere. And at the same time we conceal a grin of disrespectful prophecy. For not only the man from Mars, we predict, will feel at home among these austere shapes; the adaptable humans indigenous to this planet will make them household words and ornaments in next to no time.

Of David

By KAPPO PHELAN

I CALL him David since he is so brave. And he is very brave. For a long time now he has been the only fly here and I like to think he may be perhaps unique in having achieved December. This seems an accomplishment to me for a fly.

I am one of those who are ignorant of insect life but I should like to mention that of late the button on the end of David's nose has got to be larger and not shining any more. This I imagine to be a sign of his great age and bravery but I feel sure I may be proved wrong by those who are familiar with insect life. Nevertheless, it seems important.

David leads an ordered life but I may say I write truthfully only of his pleasure. Of his unhappiness I find I cannot speak, since he seems to

keep it to himself and to be almost not here when not in the pursuit of joy. This has been evident since late in October when his great bravery broke upon me suddenly and I stopped trying to kill him which he did not like. But he has many pleasures.

He usually begins by being seen upon the mirror which is very large and tall and has, I expect, a pleasant feeling to a fly. I cannot tell what he may do before this but almost always when I find him it is, in the beginning, on the mirror. This circumstance does not, I think, remark conceit in David but rather a contemplative attitude. And, it may be that he finds there as I do, a double of himself and feels, therefore, not lonely. But that is romantic certainly, and this is history.

I do believe that David found very quickly the direction of this place since he flies never to the south where the windows are, nor to the north-east where the door is, and almost never near to the ground where the cat and the dog live. He flies to the west with the mirror, and to the south-east, and always with great eagerness to the north.

He never, never approaches the cat. She is called Feather because she is so quick. And she is very quick. There are times when he will approach the dog. When the sun is on and it is a good day. The dog is called Dougal because he is Scotch. And he is very thoughtful. He is much too thoughtful for David not to be brave.

Here to the north the kitchen is, and David dearly loves to eat and drink. I do confess this to be annoying since he sings over his food and he falls into his drink. He has not a pleasant voice although I have not heard it raised since late in October but he sings over anything sweet and sometimes he stands in it. It is obvious that this is annoying. He has fallen into beer often and often, and into vermouth quite a lot. I have always rescued him but when he is rescued, he is very annoying. I only looked once. Thereafter, I have rescued him but have not looked. He never falls into whisky nor into water.

But here to the north there is also the bath, and this is the great joy to David. I imagine he needs to be warm in this late cold. He flies in and out of the steam growing from the tub and then he will wait on the wall to begin again. Now he is most brave and I have never had to rescue him. I imagine he flies over and through these clouds thinking of himself as a bird, or as a bee, or as an airplane, or, perhaps, as David. I cannot imagine which is bravest but for a long time now he has taken all my baths.

David likes to read but he knows only one page of all the books I have read during his life. Perhaps sometimes two pages but that is only when the book is very long. He has not got patience. . . .

Oh, it is indeed sad for me here to write the end—that I have not seen him for one week and today.

Where Do They Go from School?

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

THE QUESTION is so obvious, there must have been times when you wanted to ask it. Where do the thousands of young colored people go when they leave school? You do not see them behind the counters in department stores or specialty shops, or at typewriters and filing cabinets in offices, or selling tickets in railroad stations. You have never paid your gas bill to a colored clerk or made a deposit in a bank with a brown face at the teller's window. If you have ever encountered a Negro selling bonds, blankets, radios or Fuller brushes, you can boast of a rare experience. In the whole field of commercial occupations there seems to be an unwritten law against employing Negroes. It is one law that is rarely violated.

The question that enters your mind only occasionally is an ever-present dweller in the thoughts of Negro parents. They know that when their children leave school commercial employment will be closed to them, all but hermetically sealed. They must take their chances in industry, the professions and the service occupations. Those fields are not closed to colored workers but the opportunities they offer are far from rosy. Employers are almost as loath to hire Negroes for skilled labor as they are to employ them at white collar tasks. When employers are willing, unions object. The professions are already too crowded on both sides of the color line and there is a shrinking demand for Negro butlers, bellhops, waiters, domestics and other service help. When colored parents wonder where their children will go from school the question does not spring from curiosity. It is born of apprehension, bewilderment.

Those are the feelings of thoughtful, temperate parents. The question is likely to throw intemperate Negroes into paroxysms of futile rage. They know colored workers are not excluded from white collar employment and skilled trades because they are without training or willingness to learn. The best-trained Negroes, those who have specialized in college, find it hardest to obtain the kind of work for which they have prepared themselves. More often than not the employers who refuse to give them work have helped to educate them for the positions they seek.

As taxpayers white people supply most of the money for the support of public schools. Their philanthropists contribute generously to schools and colleges maintained exclusively for the education of colored youth. Even the names of many of our institutions are memorials to the largess of white friends. Shaw, Fisk, Spellman. If Catholic

names are absent it is probably because they prefer to dedicate their charities to saints. Xavier, Saint Emma and Saint Augustine are evidences of Catholic good-will. But when the colored student leaves the classroom to seek employment in office or factory he discovers that the attitude of his benefactors has changed from benevolence to indifference. Friendly faces encouraged him to strive for education. Cold countenances rebuff him when he asks for a job.

Obviously a youth does not have to wait until after graduation to learn the facts of life about his limited opportunities for employment. The condition is so conspicuously woven in the pattern of race relations that it can hardly fail to come to his notice by the time he enters high school. Perhaps his elders, though reluctant to deflate the bouyant spirits of youth, feel in duty bound to call it to his attention. He may even wonder if, in view of his uncertain future, it is worth while to go to college at all.

The murky outlook ahead naturally influences his choice of vocation. He may want to be an accountant, chemist, metallurgist or engineer. But success in those lines is won in the laboratories of the big universities or in the service of industry or commerce. In the latter field personnel managers are likely to veto the colored applicant's career before it gets started. His chances of joining the faculty of a white college are only slightly better than those of the proverbial snowball in August. He has a good chance of professing his science in a colored college, but he may hesitate to instruct the youth of the next generation in a science they may never have an opportunity to use.

Certain vocations appear to be open to all comers on an equal footing. For instance, law. But a lawyer cannot win cases without clients, and white people in need of legal service are dubious of the colored lawyer's ability. Of course Negroes get in trouble—with far more ease than colored lawyers can get them out of it. But there are angles to be considered.

I have a friend who once defended a colored client involved with some white men in a kidnapping case. The white defendants, represented by white counsel, were convicted. My friend's client was acquitted. He must have something on the ball. Still, he lives in the Y. M. C. A. in a hall-room which isn't really a room but a cubbyhole. He often pretends to envy the steady income of my skilled laborer's job. "You are struggling to maintain a standard of living," he jests. "I am struggling to live."

In moments of serious conversation he has explained the tremendous odds against the Negro attorney: clients too indigent to pay a modest retainer, or even a nominal one; not to mention the incidental expenses of preparing a case. The colored lawyer is frequently forced to go to court with a patched-up and incomplete case and is hardly surprised when he loses it. This probably accounts for many young Negroes with the makings of good lawyers in them turning out to be bad politicians.

Medicine appears to be another open field of opportunity. But one can hardly become a successful physician by prescribing for patients who do not get well. Some remarks of my own doctor come to mind. "There is nothing I can do for you," he said after an examination. "I would like to prescribe a couple of months' rest, but you cannot afford to lose the time from work. If you can take a day off now and then to go fishing, do that. There is no other treatment I can give you."

He spoke freely to me because he is my friend as well as my physician. A colored doctor cannot always be so scrupulous. His patients may need rest, a more wholesome diet, an apartment with better ventilation. But if he does not dose them with ineffective pills his competitor will, and it is an even chance that his competitor is white. The color line in the professions is mainly a one-way barrier. It is a rare thing for a colored doctor to have a general practise among white people; it is common for white physicians to practise in colored communities.

The government gives Negroes their most dependable employment, from broom and spittoon jobs to minor white collar positions. But a young man considering civil service will do well not to aim too high. If he does, he may have an experience similar to that of the man who is now the foremost colored journalist. Assume that his name is Mr. Jones.

Mr. Jones took a first grade examination, passed it, and was certified for a position. When he reported to the supervisor of the department he was politely told that no vacancy existed. An office blunder, or something like that, had reported the retirement of a superannuated employee too early. The man was going to retire in a few weeks, however, and since Mr. Jones was at the top of the eligible list he would doubtless be called for the replacement—unless some other department requisitioned him first.

Mr. Jones went home and waited. Several months later he received a letter which informed him that since he had refused the position offered him his name had been removed from the list.

SUCH are the hazards of being black, or brown, or yellow, or sepia, or any of the flesh tints designated "Negro" by the American mind. Ap-

plying for a job with a dark face is always a risk. An adventure if one is highminded. A gamble if one is vulgar. Frequently a disappointment to both.

In all races there are spirits who are not easily turned aside from their goal. And nature has given many Negroes light skins. Very light. Some of them, when employers will not hire them because they are colored, pass for white when applying for a job. How many Negroes insinuate themselves into "white men's jobs" by race perjury will never be known. How important and lucrative the positions they obtain are is another mystery.

All Negroes who "pass" are not aiming at the sky. Some are executives while others are menials. I knew one "passing" Negro who was manager of a large Woolworth store, another who was doorman of a Park Avenue apartment house. One of my fair female friends was a salesgirl in a department store. Another was a house maid. One of my relatives by marriage was a prominent stage and screen actor.

Negroes do not justify passing in principle but they always condone it in practise. They feel that since they are victims of unfair discrimination in quest of work their duplicity is at worst a venial offense. Among my personal acquaintances who work as white none take pride in their ability to evade the color bar in employment. In the presence of their compatriots they are apologetic. That seems to be the general attitude of Negroes who pass. While they have no remorse for deceiving the business world they seem to feel that exploiting their natural gift of lightness is somehow taking unfair advantage of their darker brethren. Races are always jealous of their numbers too, and parents do not relish the thought that their children must lead counterfeit lives to succeed in life, or even to earn a living.

Of course the employer who refuses to hire Negroes has a case. If I were an employer, with an employer's interests, I think I would hire all white help. Economic expediency would be my excuse. I doubt that my position could be supported by any principle of economic law. I am positive it could not be justified by any ethical principle.

But the purpose of these brief remarks is not to consider causes and consequences, not to suggest remedies. I am only showing a picture of a condition, a miniature of a subject which might be more effectively painted on a broader canvas. My miniature has emphasized a dark side of race relations. A kind of Dutch landscape. There is a bright side.

There are Negroes who succeed, become big names, in spite of obstacles. Some of them are too dark to pass for white. Others are visually white but refuse to take the easy way. Light or dark, they crash through. They were born to be winners.

Christianity in India

By K. E. JOB

THE OFT-REPEATED fear that the fortunes of Christianity in the East will be adversely affected when the internal administration of India passes from British to Indian hands, does not, fortunately, seem to have any relation to facts. The Provincial Eucharistic Congress, held at Madras toward the close of the past year, would not have been the splendid success it turned out to be, had it not been for the whole-hearted support and close cooperation of the Madras Provincial (Congress) Government and of the leaders of the Indian National Congress. Pundit Jawharlal Nehru, the then president of the National Congress, whose sympathy for communism had made him suspect in Catholic circles abroad, not only belied all such fears, but even went to the length of deputing the Madras Premier, Mr. C. Raj Gopala Achariar, to receive the Papal Legate in the Madras Central Railway Station in the name of the Congress. Moreover, the Madras City Municipal Corporation—that august body contains not a single Catholic member—presented a most friendly address of welcome to the Vatican Viceroy, “as the representative of a great religious community” who had come “to preside over an important religious assembly.”

Nor does Indian nationalism confine itself to such lip service to Indian Christianity, especially to Catholicism. Whenever the question of prohibition has loomed large in the Council Chambers of the Congress-dominated provinces of India, and the problem of Mass wine has begun to agitate the Catholic minority, the Hindu leaders in the provincial legislatures have done everything in their power to satisfy the needs of the Church. They do not look upon Christianity as an exotic and denationalizing factor, but as one of the several salutary forces for bringing about the creation of a happy Indian nationalism.

The prelates and people of Catholic India, too, wisely reciprocate the friendly attitude of the Indian national leaders. Archbishop Kierkals, the Papal Delegate to India, for example, paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Gandhi's social gospel, in his reply to the address of welcome presented to him at the inauguration of the Eucharistic Congress:

“Outside the Church, no one perhaps has echoed more eloquently the Church's appeal to Christian ethics than Mr. Gandhi, who in his immense endeavor for India's economic uplift, never loses sight of the supremacy of spiritual values. ‘Ours will then only be a truly spiritual nation,’ he once said, ‘when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fearlessness than pomp

of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. Let us first seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added unto us. These are real economics. May you and I treasure them and enforce them in our daily life.’ That shows how many affinities the ideals of Mr. Gandhi have with Christian ethics and how he has assimilated some of our most important moral teachings, as the poet Rabindra Nath Tagore pointed out and explained quite recently.”

The Papal Legate, however, did not stop with praising the social ideals of India's leader. He went further and gave the lie direct to one of the most frequently repeated charges against Christianity, that it is a western religion, and is not suited to oriental countries like India, China and Japan. This charge was thus beautifully answered:

“In acknowledging the warm reception extended to me by such a distinguished body as the Madras Municipal Corporation, I cannot help remembering the Aeropagus of Athens being addressed by Saint Paul of Tarsus, who referred them to their own monuments and poets. If, without comparing myself to the great Apostle, I may also borrow from a non-Christian writer, allow me to mention a pronouncement of Swami Vivekananda, who, in speaking of Christ and His relation to Asia, proclaimed that ‘the voice of Asia has been the voice of religion, while the voice of Europe is the voice of politics.’ Well, the Catholic Church and the Pontiff of Rome represent, not the voice of politics, but that very voice of religion which, from a small Asiatic country, ‘hath gone forth unto all the ends of the world,’ being today the loudest call to ethical and spiritual values, and the widest rallying cry to all believers in God to unite in warding off atheism and unbelief. That voice is neither of the East nor of the West; it is the voice of the Spirit, independent of climes, nowhere alien, any more than the voice of science and truth, although, as on the day of Pentecost, it is meant to be heard by each in the tongue wherein he was born.”

The Catholic missionary's attitude to Indian nationalism has been even more emphatically expressed by Bishop Rossillion of Vizagpatam, in his address on the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Indian hierarchy. Replying to the oft-repeated charges of political motives attributed to missionaries, the Bishop said:

“As a declaration of principle, let me repeat once more that we, Catholic missionaries, are not ‘International Meddlers,’ we let politics alone.

We do not stand here, today, to satisfy a 'racial superiority complex,' nor are we the forerunners of trade and capitalism. If it were necessary, all the venerable bishops representing in this Congress the whole Indian Catholic Church would give with pleasure to all our Indian friends the assurance that we are not out to westernize Indians. India has absolutely nothing to fear from us, since, far from wishing to denationalize her sons, we have come to throw in our lot with them and Indianize ourselves among them. India has become our mother-land, our home, where we mean to live and die. We love her as our mother, we love her children as our brothers, and our sole desire and prayer are to see her free, great, prosperous, and respected among the nations."

In fact no student of India's ecclesiastical history can fail to grasp the truth underlying the above principle so ably set forth by Bishop Rossillion. That at the very dawn of Christianity India received the light of the Faith is now being more and more conceded by scholars of oriental history. "Thirty years ago, the balance of probability stood absolutely against the story of the apostolate of Saint Thomas in India," says Dr. J. N. Farquahar. "We suggest today the balance of probability is distinctly on the side of its historicity." A verdict, more or less in the same strain, has been given by another orientalist of no less repute, namely, Dr. Mignana, the Syriac archivist of Manchester, who says in his "Early Spread of Christianity in India" (1926): "There is no historian, no poet, no breviary, no liturgy, no writer of any sort, who having had the opportunity of speaking of Thomas does not associate his name with India."

And this primitive Christianity, having stood the test of nineteen centuries in India, is even now found in the Syriac Church of Malabar, whose members number 1,000,000 souls. More than half of them belong to the Syro-Malabar Rite of the Catholic Church, while the rest are schismatics, from whose ranks three prelates have already submitted to Rome, with a following of nearly 50,000. This new group of Catholics has been erected into an ecclesiastic province by the Holy See and their rite and liturgy have been approved for use. These Syriac Christians belong to the nobility of the land, and in dress, language, manners and customs they do not differ from their high caste Hindu brethren; not a few of them are fighting in the ranks of the Indian National Congress for the political liberation and civil freedom of their land. Consequently no legitimate charge of denationalization can be leveled against the faith that is in them.

If additional proof were wanted to show that Christianity is capable of adaptation in any country, it can be found in the history of the Madura Mission of South India, which celebrates its cen-

tenary this year. The famous missionary Jesuit, Robert De Nobili, was the pioneer of this mission, and he is reported to have gone so far in his efforts to Indianize Christianity that he was grossly misrepresented at Rome as having mixed Christianity with paganism. He studied Sanskrit and Tamil so deeply, mastered Hindu philosophy so profoundly and cast off European dress, manners, food and customs so thoroughly that the Hindus of South India venerated him as a Roman Brahmin, and prostrating themselves three times before him, implored him to accept them as his disciples. Consequently many of them who had looked upon Christianity as (*Freungi-Marga*) the European religion came to accept Christianity at his hands, and to become devout followers of Jesus Christ. Though the successors of De Nobili have been asked to give up some of the abnormal features of the Malabar Rites initiated by him, yet the Catholics of Madura Mission, just like the Syrian Christians of Malabar, have demonstrated to all the oriental nations that Christianity is natural to every country of its adoption.

Despite all these, however, it still remains a problem why Christ has been so little accepted as Saviour by the vast majority of India's teeming millions. Of course one has to bear in mind that Christianity in India as well as elsewhere cannot be gaged by statistics. The fact is that ever since the entry of Christianity into the vast subcontinent of India, there has been a cracking of old ideas and thoughts, a breaking of dead forms and habits, a social and religious revival. If widow-burning and infanticide, slavery and child marriage, have been tabooed in India, if woman's social position has been considerably improved, if "sanctified" prostitution in Hindu temples has been abolished, if untouchability and social inequality are looked on askance by the enlightened generation of India, and if the orthodox native prince of Travancore has been emboldened to throw open all the Hindu temples of his realm to the depressed classes of his state—all this is due to the gradual leavening by Christianity of the caste-bound millions of India's people.

In fact, through all these years, the Gospel of Christ has been doing its silent work among the people of India, as has been attested by some of the noblest sons of that land. "The ideas that lie at the heart of the Gospel are slowly but surely permeating into every part of Hindu society, and modifying every phase of Hindu thought," says Sir Narayan Chandravarkar.

In this connection, to what else can we more legitimately aspire than that India's Gandhis and Tagores, Boses and Nehrus will realize, at the earliest opportunity, that Jesus Christ and He alone is the channel through which every nation on earth may attain its political, social, economic and spiritual salvation?

Social Credit vs. Commufascism

By GORHAM MUNSON

SUNDAY, March 20, 1938: a procession organized by the London Social Credit Club and the Social Credit party of Great Britain marches to Trafalgar Square carrying a fifty-foot banner, reading, "Social Credit the Only Remedy." Afterward the marchers repair to Hyde Park where leaders address a crowd of five thousand. A few days later as the House of Commons adjourns, two men and a woman rise in the gallery and shout, "Social Credit is the only remedy," whereupon the guards hustle them out.

What is this social credit whose agitators have painted "Hands off Alberta" in green letters on the wall of the Bank of England; whose prairie politicians are precipitating a constitutional crisis in Canada; whose numerous followers were wooed with promises of money reform by the Labour party of New Zealand during its victorious 1936 campaign? Even in the United States social credit has gained a toehold and found expression in two bills introduced by Representative T. Alan Goldsborough in the present Congress, on one of which a full hearing before the Committee on Banking and Currency has recently been concluded.

The technical economic analysis and constructive proposals of social credit are unique. Alone among economic schools social crediters maintain that there is under the orthodox system a demonstrable continuous and automatic deficiency of purchasing power. They unfurl "the flag of the theorem," which is based upon a study of the faster rate at which costs are incurred in business than the rate at which personal incomes are distributed through business, and they challenge all other schools to state how they would close this automatic price-income gap without plunging ever deeper into irrepayable debt.

The constructive proposals, embodied in Mr. Goldsborough's bill, H.R. 31, are: (1) to establish a National Credit Account which shall be a monetary facsimile of the nation's real wealth or dynamic capacity to produce; (2) to regulate retail prices by a ratio of total actual production and total consumption that would allow consumers to receive debt-free credit in making purchases, thus reducing prices to consumers; and (3) to institute national dividends permitting every citizen to participate in the total annual net production. These technical measures, designed to fill exactly the gap between aggregate income and aggregate prices and thus enable the home market to claim total domestic production have been described in former articles in THE

COMMONWEAL and are elaborated in the American edition of C. H. Douglas's "Social Credit."

My purpose is not to deal with the economics of social credit but with its politics, and this may be done most fruitfully if we view social credit as the democratic rival of the totalitarian systems of fascism and communism in its dictatorship phase.

The outstanding social feature of our age is teeming poverty against a background of sufficient wealth for all. It is poverty that makes the perfect soil for fascism and communism. Consider the course of events that marks the periodic slumping of our economic life. Our economic system is kept going by the financing of capital goods expansion and foreign trade. But under the conventions of finance, an expanding capital economy must from time to time falter and slow down, and foreign trade must contract as other nations equip themselves with capital goods. There ensues a decline in effective demand in the consumers' market. The volume of orders to industry lessens, and this means a rise in unemployment both of plant and men. It means a rise in bankruptcies, which run into thousands while the unemployed workers run into millions. The government takes action—on leave from the financiers—along the line of borrowing for relief and public works, thus swelling the national debt. Such palliative spending however produces a new tension as taxes mount in proportion, and in time the club of the balanced budget is wielded against the government.

Now note the psychological by-products of this cumulative process. They are a widespread sense of discontent and insecurity, of frustration and impotence, of unrest and rebelliousness. The psychology induced by the economic distresses of the population makes the soil ready for the seeds of violent revolutionary fascism or communism. The time comes when in Hitler's words, "The psyche of the mass of the people is not receptive of anything savoring of half-measures and weakness." They can then be easily belwethered into war abroad or civil war at home—to escape from their maddening state of frustration.

The soil is immensely fertilized by a popular but little recognized delusion. Orthodox economics for generations has taught that there is no inherent deficiency of money but that on the contrary, "Let x be equal to the cost of production of all producers, then x will also be equal to the income of the public" (Keynes). Each large section of society under the spell of this delusion

experiences nevertheless a severe shortage of money. What more natural conclusion to draw than that money is maldistributed? We are short of money, says the farmer, the industrial worker, the white collar employee, or the capitalist, because too much of the available supply is being amassed by some other section. The air rings with cries of "Soak the rich," "Wages are too high," "Abolish profits," "Strikes are to blame," etc. A total insufficiency of money is rarely blamed, and for this reason it is comparatively easy for communists to convince the workers they should hate the hoggish bosses and for fascists to win the middle class to rally against the grasping unions. The mutual recriminations of classes over division of income prepare the way for civil war.

In capsule form, what are the leading ideas of the communist and fascist propagandists as they bid for power? The Communist party exposes the contradictions and corruption of production by private enterprise, and leads the workers in strikes, demonstrations, struggle against fascism and for better conditions. This educational and agitational period culminates in the Social Revolution, overthrowing the capitalist class by force. This is followed by a whole historical period, a transitional period called the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, with the slogan: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." It is anticipated that in time the dictatorship will wither away, all forms of coercion cease as communist habits of thought and action become universal, and the ultimate aim of a classless society in which everyone works according to his ability and receives according to his needs will be established.

The Fascists, to continue the capsule version, attribute the paradox of poverty amidst plenty to uncontrolled competition and lack of personal planning in industry and commerce. They propose a series of corporations, one to each main industry, on which both employers and employed will be represented, capped by the controlling body, the National Corporation, functioning as an Industrial Parliament. Currency will be managed, prices and banking controlled, credit for speculation not allowed. Fascism has no use for the principles of liberal democracy, but exalts the authoritarian state and the principle of direct personal leadership.

The principal difference between communism and fascism lies in what they propose to do about the class-struggle, recognized as fundamental by both. Communism aims to dissolve, "liquidate," the old classes by violent means and to institute by degrees a classless society. Fascism aims to iron out the class-conflict and to use the State's power to enforce class-collaboration.

As a political force, social credit avows its hostility to both fascism and communism. "Away

with right and left—they are both pests," runs the slogan of the Social Credit party of Great Britain in its appeal to the masses. Its propaganda starts with the tragic absurdity of poverty amidst plenty, but it blames this not upon the profit motive in production, as do the communists, nor upon controlled competition and lack of planning as do the fascists, but squarely upon the distributive or financial system. Social credit turns off at right angles from the productive system and points the condemnatory finger at an antiquated money system. Change the financial system, social crediters tell the masses, and the result which communists and fascists promise to produce in the distant future, namely, the abolition of poverty, will begin to be achieved immediately. In respect to promising to do something at once about poverty, social credit outbids its political rivals.

Nor does social credit find itself enmeshed in the class-struggle conception. That conception social crediters point out acquits the banker of responsibility, whereas it is the banking system that is at the bottom of the mischief by keeping money in short supply and thus provoking class against class. The true clash of interest, asserts the social creditor, is between the banker and the consumer; the true line of social cleavage is between the money power and the people. This is reflected in a slogan like "Not less for some but more for all," a pithy way of saying that social credit proposes not levelling down or redistribution of income but a levelling up. Let the Stracheys talk so plausibly about a coming struggle for power between classes. The social creditor reduces the Marxian prophecy to the level of doom-talk. Marx's prophecy is ultimately only an extremely powerful suggestion but mankind can be de-mesmerized from the suggestion that the future belongs to communism or fascism. What is coming is something not foreseen by Marx seventy-five years ago, and that is the struggle for credit-power, the nature of which unites the community against the small group of money monopolists.

AS PART of the de-mesmerizing process, social credit teaches that the resemblances of communism and fascism are far more important than their differences. To emphasize this the hybrid word, commufascism, has been coined. Commufascism, or the similarities of communism and fascism, can be assayed as follows:

It strictly associates income and employment, and exalts the Work-State founded on the great moral injunction of the Age of Scarcity: "Unless a man work, neither shall he eat."

It disparages the conception of the Leisured Society just emerging in modern thought.

It is centered on the problem of production, and finds defects principally in the administration of production in capitalist countries.

It is addicted to planned production.

It believes in a policy of compulsion, state-worship, dictatorship.

It is orthodox in financial matters, as in Russia, going no further than managed money, as in Germany and Italy.

Thus, from the social credit point of view, communism and fascism grow to be indistinguishable as a lump of commufascism for which the radicals in either party were never fighting.

The social credit movement which in twenty years has spread over all English-speaking countries regards commufascism as hopelessly unadapted to the Power Age, as war-mongering in essence, as fatal to democracy, and as initiatory of a new Dark Age. Social credit proclaims itself the movement for financial democracy and the resolute force in the world economic crisis. Social credit, its advocates say, is a substance that will disintegrate the cancer of poverty and by metabolic processes bring about a healthy social body. It is a resolute force for the class-struggle and the predicted series of civil wars and wars between "democratic" and "fascist" nations. In fact, if poverty at home is abolished, the incentive to war will largely disappear and a political federation of the world based upon the voluntary cooperation of free nations will be feasible.

To many these will appear tall assertions and on the right and left they furnish occasion for scornful laughter. To the incredulous the social creditor counsels genuine scepticism, the attitude of Emerson when he wrote: "I neither affirm nor deny. I stand here to try the case." To the laughter of the left and right, the social creditor replies: "We believe in the intuitive common sense of the masses. You are outraging the sacred principle of the individual and history shows that violence cannot permanently be wreaked on individuality."

For politically as well as economically, social credit starts with the individual. We must build up from the individual to the state, not from the state downward, declared Douglas in his first book. We must enlarge the individual's command over the material environment empowering him to claim more of the goods and services he needs. We must enlarge the individual's personal freedom by giving him greater choice in opportunity and occupation. We must increase leisure or the blessed state of voluntary activity. We must decentralize finance by making it democratic, and thus complete political democracy by making it economic.

Inevitably I have fallen into a manifesto style but I would like to close on another note. The social credit movement has a unique economic program which by now has attracted sufficient attention in high places—for example, it has been studied by De Valera, publicly referred to by

Winston Churchill, debated by R. G. Hawtrey of the British Treasury, supported by the late Senator Bronson Cutting—to warrant the assertion that it is the duty of the well-informed citizen on public affairs to look into its essentials. It has a distinct political philosophy, democratic and libertarian, at the historical moment when the authoritarian state philosophy is making great strides, and for that reason should be welcomed for study by all democratically minded persons. But I must add that the social credit movement has not yet found itself in respect to methods of propaganda and political action.

In propaganda its appeal has been a many-sided one to reason. To engineers it has recommended the engineering approach to finance. To the business man it has addressed itself in the sensible tones of the Southampton Chamber of Commerce Report on the Economic Crisis. To the intelligentsia it has dilated on the freedom and leisure possible in the Power Age. To the nationalist it has preached economic nationalism. To the worker it has emphasized the National Dividend and the worker's rights as a consumer. The appeals have been multiple and diffuse.

On political action the movement has been divided. Petitioning, pledging campaigns to mobilize popular pressure on legislators, street agitation and pageantry, political trading, political parties—all have been tried in different parts of the British Empire. But the propaganda key and the political key have not yet been found. The movement is unsure of its strategy for winning the objective of financial democracy.

THE ANSWER is that where there is a will, there is a way. Does the will exist in Christian sociology? A number of prominent social creditors like Maurice B. Reckitt and V. A. Demant believe that in Christian sociology lies the dynamic for the social credit change. Social credit itself is purely secular but unlike its great rivals, communism and fascism, it does not offer obstacles to the faith of religious people. It does not advocate atheism or a new synthetic "pagan religion." Instead it submits itself to the challenge of the religious which has been well expressed by one writer: "Social credit is a newcomer, and must be challenged. . . . As Christians we must examine it, both to find out whether it can make good its promises (for Christianity does not set aside reason and prudence), and also to discover whether it will fit in with the vision of the new earth 'wherein dwelleth righteousness.'"

It is in fact only when we reach the field of Christian sociology and leave behind the pressing political problem of democracy versus totalitarianism that we can see the whole ethical scope of the secular social credit undertaking. In the Middle Ages money was gripped in a social-ethical

wise but it was studied as a very important agency. Money was so gripped because it was held to be and was treated as a means; the best thought of the time was expended on keeping money in a mediatory rôle. Indeed medieval thinkers wrote so profoundly on the subjects of usury and justice in the price relation that they supply today the clues for the principles of a scientific revision of our money system. The paradox was that to keep money in a secondary rôle it was necessary to develop a deep primary understanding of its nature.

In modern times, however, money has escaped from its rôle as a means and become an end. It has risen to be the supreme economic factor. But the curious paradox now is that as money has

become more and more dominant in economic life, modern thought, both orthodox and reformist, has treated it less and less seriously. Money has been treated as if it were of minor importance, a superstructure of economics, a shadow, a mere barometer of economic weather.

Money has changed from servant to master of man. Social credit claims to be a means of emancipating man from money power, and making money again the servant. But it is in just these broad terms that Christian sociology also thinks, and it is quite possible that in social credit technique the Christian sociologist may find the instrument of precision needed to make effective his social outlook.

Layman to Laymen

By JOHN M. LOUGHRAN

IT SHOULD be recognized that the chief danger in this country comes not so much from outright communists as from the combination with these of many people who, while not convinced communists, affiliate with them through sympathy with one or another of the causes they profess.

Although most intelligent Americans are convinced that this profession is dishonest, and that these causes do not represent the real purposes of communists, it must be recognized that they have been amazingly successful in enlisting sympathy and in obtaining affiliations. Further, it seems clear that these affiliations are due not so much to an approval of communism as to a recognition of the contrast between the energy with which communists work for social causes valid in se, and the seeming apathy or indifference of other groups, among them Catholic laymen.

Out of many that could be cited, the following instances will suffice to clarify the above statement:

(1) No clearer proof of the apathy or ineffectiveness of the majority of our population need be adduced than the fact that the American League against War and Fascism was permitted to preempt its new name, the American League for Peace and Democracy, and under the mask of so honorable a title to bend its efforts toward getting this country into war on behalf of International Communism.

(2) In the March, 1938, meeting of the National Peace Conference, attended by two hundred representatives of forty-two national peace organizations, it was the insistence and the votes of the delegates from youth groups that split the conference over American participation in "collective efforts to avoid war." And what was the nature of this "collective effort"? I quote: "The younger

group succeeded in blocking an attempt to avoid a vote on the obligation of the United States to aid the Spanish government against Fascism." "A proposal to delete recommendations for collective action was defeated, 101 to 96."

(3) In the January, 1938, American Youth Congress, in New York City, thirty-eight national organizations are listed as participating. Two of these were the Young Communist League and the Young People's Socialist League. Nine were Protestant and Jewish. There was no Catholic representation.

CATHOLIC laymen should make a distinction between communism and some of the causes that communists work for. The justifications for opposing communists are just as clear as is the duty to advance many of the causes they advocate. Certain of these are unassailable, such as, a more equitable distribution of the fruits of production; the expansion of educational and vocational opportunity for young people; better housing and recreational facilities; the reduction of unemployment, crime and delinquency; better treatment of the underprivileged, particularly Negroes; and action for peace, national and international.

The failure to make this distinction, and to let it be known that it is realized, has placed many Catholics in a most unsatisfactory position among their fellow men and colleagues. While it is true that Catholic laymen have been in general the beneficiaries of a heightened regard on the part of an unknown but probably large percentage of intellectual non-Catholics, because of the splendid expositions of the Catholic attitude on social justice made by the spokesmen of the Church, it is equally true that, by a regrettably large number of their countrymen, Catholics are regarded as disciples

of fascism and foes of social justice and tolerance. Such agencies as the American League for "Peace and Democracy" have done their work skilfully and assiduously. The impressions they have circulated have not been counteracted adequately. As a result, it is now very often a psychologic impossibility for Catholics to convince Protestants or Jews that, while affirming the principles of democracy, they are not secretly hoping and working for the development in America of a fascism of which they intend to be the masters or the willing servants.

As a result, sound, decent Americans who should be working together for the preservation and improvement of this democracy are divided and confused. Irritated by their own confusion, and attracted by the vigor and positiveness of extreme radicalism, some slip away to communist sympathy or affiliation. However, all other elements in our population would, I am sure, be glad to join with Catholics if they set out to work as openly and as vigorously for the purposes of social justice and democracy as do liars who work for communism under the banner of those purposes.

It is obviously true that the small number of outright communists in America exercise an influence disproportionate to their numbers. But, their influence is in direct proportion to their energy and to the seeming apathy of other groups. Catholic laymen have not been as definite, as articulate and as active as they ought to be. They should no longer allow unassailable valid issues to be expropriated by people who are interested in them only for ulterior purposes. To condemn communism and to rail at those who seem to sympathize with its adherents are not enough. Nor are "paper" organizations of lasting value. Work is needed, definite, energetic and unremitting work, to eliminate the evils by the presence of which communism justifies its existence.

To be ultimately successful, this movement must be calm, orderly, deliberate, intelligent, vigorous, honest, inclusive, democratic, and American. It cannot successfully be led by hysterical people, by witch-burners, or by self-appointed hurlers of thunderbolts.

THE EDUCATION of Catholic youth for this struggle is essential during the upper two years of high school and in college. Everyone knows that Communists are working industriously among young people, that they have made some headway, and will make more unless they are met. The messengers who do their work develop a glibness that leaves untrained opponents tongue-tied.

It is error to refuse to recognize the validity of the interest of young people in the forces that are shaping the life of our day, or to deny the competence of people seventeen years old and over to think and speak intelligently about such matters.

It is necessary only to recall that high school is the educational terminus for 90 percent of the population of America, to support the statement that, as a vitally important contribution to the preservation of this democracy, our youth should be trained for the war of ideas that they must face when they leave school. It is impossible to sequester young people or to shield them altogether from the impact of the attractive falsities of communistic infiltration. Catholic and other youth are being seduced by modified definitions of communism, manufactured for American consumption, that profess no hostility to religion or democracy.

It is clear, therefore, that a reasonable degree of promptness is indicated. There are three available courses of action. I dismiss as unworthy of attention the possibilities that Catholics will continue to go it alone or do nothing.

(1) Existing Catholic organizations, youth and adult, can develop definite programs of action for social justice, democracy and peace, and can affiliate with non-Catholic organizations on the bases of activity on behalf of these causes and opposition to totalitarianism in any form.

This plan has the merit that it may be developed swiftly by enlisting the support of existing organizations. It has the disadvantages that it would have to overcome present affiliations or sentiment or commitments that might be different, though not necessarily opposed; and that the maintenance of their separate integrities by Catholic and other organizations would increase the number of deliberative and administrative operations.

(2) Catholic laymen in large numbers may join the general membership associations their absence from which has in part permitted manipulation by communists, and thus make such manipulation impossible. There is so little likelihood of approval of this method, that it is useless to urge it with respect to organizations in which communists have attained considerable influence.

However, there are many associations whose purposes are valid and whose devotion to them is honest, such as the National Students Federation of America, the Cooperative League of the United States, the Foreign Policy Association, the National Recreation Association, the national Peace Associations, the National Education Association and others, active membership in which should be accepted by Catholics as a social duty. Granted that among the members of such organizations there are some communists or extreme radicals and that occasionally a committee report or a convention address contains expressions that it is hard to reconcile with an allegiance to democracy, or social justice, or peace, or truth, or common sense. Aloofness, or determined non-participation, is neither sensible, courageous nor

sufficient. The fear of contamination can be and, I believe, is in some instances exaggerated. We have with us a conflict, a war of social ideas. Very well. The place of Catholic American laymen is in it, not on the sidelines, but in it, shoulder to shoulder with other Americans with the vast majority of whom they are in fundamental accord.

Such participation is particularly advisable on the adult and college levels and should probably be developed there first, though I would be in favor of simultaneous action on these and the upper high school level also. There are many organizations, such as Holy Name Societies, sodalities, alumni societies, college clubs and others, in which this purpose could be developed.

(3) New local, state and national associations can be formed on a non-sectarian basis, in alliance with non-Catholics, to work for the purposes of democracy, social justice, and peace. This can be done on all levels, adult, college, upper two years of high school, and among youth out of school. The common bond would be the determination to preserve and improve this democracy, and opposition to all forms of totalitarianism.

This plan has the disadvantages that beset all efforts to form new organizations in fields of action already provided for, even though the existing provision be partial or imperfect. It has, however, the very positive merit of attraction for all Americans to principles essentially Catholic. In view of the present, and of what seems likely to be for some time to come, the nature of social-economic-political thinking in our country, this is, I believe, the best plan. Intelligently directed, it would effect an irresistible combination of strengths now scattered and therefore not as effective as they might be. Divided as it is, their power is dissipated because of conflicts arising from misunderstandings expertly fomented by communists.

IT SHOULD be accepted that the purpose to preserve American democracy and the purpose to preserve Catholicism in America are substantially identical. An essential condition of any general effort by Catholics to realize these purposes is opposition to all forms of totalitarianism, communist, fascist, nazist, or other.

Vigorous and intelligent action by Catholics on behalf of democracy and social justice, in alliance with other American citizens, can result in such a combination as will render communism impotent in this country. I believe that America is waiting for such leadership and that Catholicism by furnishing it will defeat the forces that now divide our people, consolidate our strength for common purposes, and earn the permanent admiration of a country it has saved from disintegration.

I propose, therefore, Catholic initiative in the formation of a National League for Democracy, Social Justice, and Peace.

Views & Reviews

BY MICHAEL WILLIAMS

IT IS exceedingly interesting to all Catholics who possess an average degree of knowledge of the history of the Church to read such a news dispatch as the one cabled from Rome by the *New York Herald Tribune's* correspondent there and published in that paper on Sunday, October 16.

In this dispatch the correspondent sums up, briefly yet impressively, the present situation of the Catholic Church as a world power—or, at least, as a power among other organized powers now contending for dominance in and direction of world affairs. Mr. James M. Minifie, the correspondent in question, is a well-informed and astute observer and commentator, and his summary is important not only because of its evident attempt to be fair and objective but also because it probably represents not merely an individual opinion but likewise a great mass of similar opinions held by many thoughtful people in many parts of the world.

A great many Catholics, no doubt, hold somewhat similar views, and fully agree with Mr. Minifie's expression of them, up to a certain point—but at that point, which is the most important one of all, they must part company with his wholly pessimistic judgment, for a reason that is plain and simple to all practical Catholics but the cogency and force of which rarely seem so much as to be seen by most non-Catholics, still less to be acknowledged as valid.

According to Mr. Minifie, "unable to master either its enemies or friends, the Vatican watches despairingly while events over which it has no control are shaking its European influences to the foundations." Things are worse with the Church, he proceeds to argue, now than during the darkest days of the Reformation, for power is today slipping more surely and swiftly from its grasp, because in the Reformation struggles the Church possessed powerful allies who placed their full national resources at the disposal of the Papacy. Nowadays, conditions are more similar to those that existed in the Dark Ages preceding the dawn of the Ages of Faith, when following upon the destruction of the Roman Empire there was a period of social chaos "when violence was a law unto itself, when the Pope's person was not immune and when the only resource was to match force with force and establish the Papacy as a temporal power."

Today, "when violence is again enthroned as a supreme court of appeal," Mr. Minifie considers, there are no national powers organized as allies of the Church, or prepared, or able, to assist it against the aggressions of its organized enemies; while what the correspondent terms "pontifical thunders," by which no doubt he means the various public statements issued by the Pope, protesting against attacks upon the Church, or upholding the Church's claims, "have failed notoriously to check Nazi persecution of the Church in Germany." The Cardinal Innitzer episode is of course also brought forward in evi-

dence of the helpless position of the Papacy against Nazi aggression, which long ago violated and made completely futile the treaty, or concordat, upon which the Church had relied. And Mr. Minifie goes on to point out that the concordat and treaty which the Church hoped would sustain and defend its spiritual and cultural position in Italy may go the way of repudiation that the concordat with Germany has gone, now that the Fascist government is so tightly tied in, to all appearances, with the Nazi ideology in the Rome-Berlin axis. Nor, thinks the correspondent, is Vatican gloom lightened "by the reflection that the Church's campaign against Communism makes the Nazis its bedfellows."

All of which leads Mr. Minifie to the conclusion quoted above, namely, that "the Vatican watches despairingly while events over which it has no control are shaking its European influences to the foundations." But that, of course, is precisely the point where Catholics must part company with him. The Vatican, that is to say, the Catholic Church in its supreme manifestation, cannot despair; nor can its influences be shaken to their foundations by human events, whether these be of a Nazi, Fascist, Communist, or whatever sort. For those foundations were laid outside of human power, and are maintained perpetually by power that is divine. It is upon this faith, upon this knowledge, justified by two thousand years of history throughout which human events have shaken all other things organized among men into wreck and ruin but have left the Church still firm upon its foundations, that Catholics repose today, as always they have, and as always they will and must.

I wonder how many times what this newspaper reporter of today has written about the Church has been said, in other forms, of course, about other events, and other shapes of human power and human pride, by historians and statesmen and diplomats and critics, age after age after age. It is one of the most familiar of all forms of false prophecy. What Newman once wrote upon this matter should now be remembered as many other voices once more begin to repeat the ancient error.

"There was a saying of old," the Cardinal writes, "Let alone Camarina, for 'tis best left alone.' Let them, as sensible men—I do not say, accept Catholicism as true, but admit it into their imagination as a fact. A story goes about of a sagacious statesman and monarch of our own time, who, when urged by some of his advisors to come to an open rupture with the Holy See, made answer, 'If you can put your finger upon the page of history, and point out any one instance in which any civil power quarrelled with Rome with honor and success in the event, I will accede to your wishes.' And it has lately been given to the world, how that sagacious politician, apostate priest as he was, Prince Talleyrand, noted it as one of Napoleon's three great political mistakes, that he quarrelled with the Pope. There is only one way of success over us, possible even in idea—a wholesale massacre. Let them exterminate us, as they have done before, kill the priests, decimate the laity; and they have for a while defeated the Pope. They have no other way; they may gain a material victory; never a moral one."

Communications

ARE WE FAIR TO THE CHURCH?

Kingston, Ont.

TO the Editors: Please accept my humble felicitations on the highly intellectual and moral tone of every issue of THE COMMONWEAL.

To single out one article of special concern to all lovers of social justice, I mention Bishop Lucey's "Are We Fair to the Church?" in THE COMMONWEAL of September 9 and 16, and Mr. O'Hagan's correspondence in the October 7 issue, "pointing out" that members of the Catholic Church Militant, in many instances, are unable "to go into print" with constructive criticism in many Catholic diocesan weeklies. From actual experience in this world of realities, the writer has met many schools of social thought—each imbued with the idea that the Catholic Church is fascist in outlook. Of course, all sincere Catholics know that the Catholic Church is the most democratic institution in the twentieth century—the same yesterday, today, and tomorrow.

The individual man or woman is seeking happiness—therefore, all sincere Christians should unite to bring about a social order that recognizes the dignity of the human personality and his natural rights.

The mainsprings of any economic system are money and credit. Here in Canada, Premier Aberhart of Alberta and his Social Credit forces have "broken the back" of international finance, for the first time since the birth of the House of Rothschild. If the Social Credit movement vigorously reacts against the individualistic capitalism of the trust magnates of money and credit, if it most strongly accentuates the social character of economic life and, particularly, of the monetary system, the writer sees in that nothing properly socialistic. It is the attitude of every movement no matter how slightly penetrated by the social sense; and, thank God, the Catholic Church is the first to take that attitude and to demand it of her followers. We of the Catholic Church Militant may be magnificently social without being socialistic, fascist or communistic.

Another amusing story. Some politicians here in Canada and many in the U. S. A. also will maintain that religion and economics do not blend. And it gives the writer pleasure to remind them that true religion, true science and true democracy blend perfectly.

To make the "miracles of modern science" available to the masses, mankind must combine true religion and true economics by insisting on a monetary system that expresses the natural wealth and real credit of nations.

In conclusion, the writer trusts that all readers of THE COMMONWEAL will endeavor to learn more of the social credit movement. You must read something more than political party papers and bankers' publicity sheets. Finally, your Catholic faith does not forbid her children from supporting any movement that recognizes the rights and duties of man toward God, his neighbor and himself.

JAMES H. GALLAGHER.

Moline, Ill.

TO the Editors: One need not agree with every statement and conclusion of Bishop Lucey in "Are We Fair to the Church?" But what he did say, he said forcefully enough to set many a-thinking and reexamining the basis of their social work. And that is all to the good.
B.

CREATING A DEMAND

Baltimore, Md.

TO the Editors: May we call your attention to a practical form of Catholic Action, very much needed, and as yet in its first beginnings? We refer to the placing of low-priced Catholic literature on counters available to the general public.

Catholic literature is, as a rule, too expensive; and what low-priced material we have, such as the pamphlets issued by the Queen's Work, the Paulist Press and the International Truth Society, is only to be found, as a rule, in Church and school racks. We need to flood the market with low-priced Catholic reading for the benefit of the masses and such reading must be placed on counters where they generally buy. We must follow up the drive against evils of the press with a constructive movement.

Realizing this fact, last spring, we of the Baltimore Scholastic Legion of Decency carried on a campaign that brought satisfactory results.

Each of the 4,500 students belonging to the Legion was requested to visit one five and dime store, one department store, and one news stand, and ask for titles of at least five Catholic books. First week, freshmen; second week, all their relatives and friends; third week, sophomores, etc., throughout a campaign of eight weeks. Lists of books, as guides, were given the students.

At first some of the managers and clerks showed annoyance, then interest, and finally the Catholic books that were available were placed on the counters. Store managers will not order Catholic books unless there is a demand from the public. Mass-producing publishing companies will not publish such books unless there is a demand on the part of the store managers. We must create the demand for Catholic reading. What has been tried out successfully on a small scale can be put into effect on a nation-wide scale, if the editors of our Catholic periodicals will place this project before its readers.

PHILLIP CAVANAUGH, *Corresponding Secretary,*

RUSSELL QUINN, *President,*

Baltimore Scholastic Legion of Decency.

THE NOMADIC INTELLECTUAL

Ossining, N. Y.

TO the Editors: This note is concerned not with the general merits of Professor De Ray L. Hunt's "The Nomadic Intellectual," in your issue of September 23, but rather exclusively with the intrinsic (doctrinal) and extrinsic (historical) relationship of Saint Thomas to Saint Augustine. Statements like "... What manner of man was this Dominican friar who turned his back upon the tradition consecrated by the name of the greatest Doctor of the Church, Saint Augustine?" can

justly be predicated as conveying unfailingly to one unfamiliar with the historical development of the Scholastic philosophy an incorrect impression of Augustinian thought—as was similarly done by G. K. Chesterton ("St. Thomas Aquinas," New York, 1933), in his great enthusiasm for the giant philosopher of Cologne and Paris.

Aquinas "never turned his back upon Augustine." Men in the field will agree in stating that besides Aristotle, Boethius, etc., it was especially Saint Augustine who had provided Saint Thomas with solid stones and firm pillars for the construction of his indestructible, perennial edifice that forever will merit him the distinction of being the greatest architect amongst the philosophers.

Of course, there are differences between the basically broader Augustinian system, as compared with the perfectly unified and concise Thomistic one, but the discrepancies appertain more to the viewpoint and method than to the essence of doctrine. Joseph Mausbach in his introduction to "Aurelius Augustinus" (Cologne, 1930; in which eighteen Catholic thinkers, such as A. Dyroff, J. Geysler, M. Grabmann, B. Jansen, S.J., von Rinteln, M. Schmaus, etc., commemorate the 1500th anniversary of Augustine's death), has outlined the greater originality, the universality of the Doctor of Doctors, his farther reaching, more encompassing influence upon the occidental culture and the weightier value of his unique personality for our, in fact, for any, era than that of the Angelic Doctor.

Undoubtedly Augustine's thought is primarily based upon Platonic and Neo-platonic inheritance; his dependence on Plotinus has been greatly elucidated by Professor Jakob Barion's "Plotin und Augustinus" (Berlin, 1935). Our personal contention that Aurelius Augustinus (who was familiar with Aristotle—a fact denied by Professor Francis Aveling of London, in his article on "Matter" in "The Catholic Encyclopedia"), as well as Aristotle, laid the foundation for the realism of Saint Thomas, is already mentioned by Professor Dyroff (cf. L. Schopp, German translation of Augustine's "Soliloquies," Munich, 1938, page 118). If it comes to Saint Thomas's refutation of the Manichees, "particularly" stressed by Professor Hunt, so is herein Augustine his particular source and guide.

There is essentially only one Christian philosophy. That Saint Augustine (who was more closely followed by Saint Bonaventure and other Franciscans than the Dominicans), has been the stanch and unadulterating propounder of Christian thought, is attested by Saint Thomas ("Summa," I, Q. 84, a.5) himself in the words: "Whenever Augustine, who was imbued with the doctrine of the Platonics, found anything in their words in accord with the Christian Faith, he accepted it; but whenever he detected anything contrary to the Faith, he amended it." Therefore, quite apropos could Etienne Gilson ("Introduction a l'étude de Saint Augustin," Paris, 1929) state: "The ones who banish Saint Augustine soon suffer from an ill-fated feeling, for they will rediscover him at the very place where he has always been, in the center of Christian thought, juxtaposed side by side with Saint Thomas, who may sometimes diverge, but never separate, from Saint Augustine."

LUDWIG SCHOPP.

THE MYSTICAL BODY

Collegeville, Minn.

TO the Editors: I enjoyed the sympathetic review of Mersch's book, "The Whole Christ," by Father O'Connor in a recent issue of THE COMMONWEAL. A sentence in the review is for me replete with question marks that center around very vital aspects of the Mystical Body of Christ. It reads: "When we speak of the Mystical Body of Christ we are using a metaphor to designate the unity that should exist between Christ and all mankind."

Is it correct to refer to the Mystical Body of Christ as a metaphor, if "the Mystical Body is the prolongation of the Incarnation in space and time by means of the supernatural life that flows from the Head to the least of his members" (Ibid.)? Would it not be much more correct to speak of the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ, or of the sublime supernatural reality of it, which we picture to ourselves under the figure of the human body? And is the M B. merely used to indicate or declare the unit that "should" exist between Christ and all mankind, and not rather the most real and living union that does actually exist between the head Christ and His living members?

I am putting forth the questions not as criticism, but as indicating the need of elucidation and clarification in regard to what the Vatican Council schema and many theologians call the traditional concept of the Church.

REV. VIRGIL MICHEL, O.S.B.

QUEBEC'S PADLOCK LAW

Ottawa, Ont.

TO the Editors: A correspondent whose letter appears in your issue of October 14, apparently lacking courage to sign his (or is it her?) name, purports to answer my letter in your issue of September 23 (signed with my own name) but misses completely the whole point of my letter; which was that, as the so-called Padlock Law was a purely domestic ordinance, in support of which the people of Quebec were as nearly unanimous as they well could be, it was not becoming for outsiders to object. The other points raised in your correspondent's letter are purely irrelevant, in so far as answering my letter is concerned, save that if it is a fact, as your correspondent asserts, that Mr. Lapointe "did not dare disallow the Quebec legislation" because, had he done so, Mr. Duplessis would have raised the province against him, that fact affords further proof of the unanimity of the people of the province, in favor of the Act.

Mr. Lapointe, in fact, could not constitutionally have done otherwise than he did. If the Act is unconstitutional, the Courts will so decide. If, on the other hand, the Act is within the powers of the Legislature, to have disallowed a measure, purely local in its effects and supported by the unanimous opinion of the province, would have been an outrage against provincial rights and would, moreover, have been directly contrary to constitutional precedent.

W. L. SCOTT.

Points & Lines

Conditions on the Farm

SPEAKING before an audience of more than 5,000 Illinois farmers at the state capital about the success of the AAA corn program, Secretary Henry A. Wallace took an optimistic view of things. According to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*:

Despite the present low prices of farm crops, Wallace asserted the cash farm income this year would be only about 12 percent less than last year. He thought this was a splendid showing in view of the fact that in the latest depression, which he took note of, factory payrolls fell off about 30 percent. He gave the farm law credit for this showing.

Continuation of that program was indicated in an Associated Press dispatch:

The country's 2,225,000 cotton growers will get another chance, December 10, to vote on the new crop control program. . . . Two-thirds of the farmers voting must approve quotas in order to make them effective. . . . The cotton referendum may be followed by similar elections on tobacco and wheat marketing quotas.

Another large-scale government farm activity was outlined in another A.P. dispatch:

The federal government as a result of its extensive re-financing activities now holds more than a third of all farm mortgages. . . . The lending power of the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation lasts until the beginning of 1940 and over \$500,000,000 of its power to issue bonds is unexhausted.

That a large majority of the people in country areas throughout the United States are living under conditions that are far from idyllic is indicated in the *Survey Midmonthly*:

More than 2,000,000 farmhands have lost their jobs permanently and those who still hold on make less in a year than unskilled workers in the cities. One machine now shells as much corn in an hour and a half as a farm laborer could by hand in twenty days. More than three-fourths of all rural people carry water from wells, have outdoor toilets, use kerosene lamps, have neither bathtubs nor showers, neither electricity nor radios. Doctors in rural areas are growing older and fewer, while health problems multiply. Recent graduates of medical schools do not come to rural districts.

The major farm proposal offered during the week is thus summarized by the *New York Times*:

Proposals now being studied, Mr. Wallace said, call for a "two-price" system under which certain agricultural products and their manufactured products would be offered to relief families and others with low incomes at prices below those prevailing at the markets. Losses would be borne by the government. Commodities which might be affected are cotton, vegetables, fruits, dairy products and meats.

This met with a chorus of boos and huzzahs. In the forefront with the former the *Baltimore Sun* said editorially:

The latest scheme which involves one price for farm products sold to the well-to-do and another price for the same products sold to the poorer third or half of the population

would come as close to making over America as anything suggested by even the most gullible of ex-Brain Trusters. . . . The scheme involves a willingness on the part of a third or a half of all the people in the United States to declare themselves economically incapable. . . . It seems to be about the most completely idiotic of all the Utopian proposals that have emanated from Washington.

Just the opposite was the reaction of the venerable William E. Borah, United States Senator from Idaho:

The scarcity doctrine impoverishes the farmers and starves the needy. It has been demonstrated beyond all question that it does not work. . . . The government can take up the surplus and dispose of it also to those who can pay nothing, for we have to feed them. I believe a plan such as the Secretary suggests can be worked out so that it will go far toward solving the farm problem and it will not cost in the end as much as the present program.

The *Christian Science Monitor* well summarizes the less controversial and more long-range work of soil conservation:

Relocation of farms only on potentially productive areas; protection of soil from erosion by water or wind; rebuilding soil by planting of soil-building legumes, by crop-rotation and use of fertilizers; improving yields and qualities by technical work on seeds, varieties, improved machinery, eradication of pests, better drainage, etc. . . . So far 22 states have passed laws modeled after the one mapped out for them at Washington, providing for local soil-conservation districts.

It also tells of the findings of the President's Great Plains Committee:

The prevailing system of land utilization has failed. Above all the traditional mistake must not be repeated of letting one year of adequate rainfall entice immigrants into the semi-arid region. . . . "the northern great plains can become a land of reasonable security through a type of agriculture suited to the climate, topography, soils and natural vegetation, involving in general larger operating units, a judicious combination of grazing and feed production and so far as practicable supplemental irrigation."

The United States Forestry Service, according to the same paper, reports some interesting conclusions based on 35 years of "record-keeping, observation and intensive research" on the Salt River Watershed in our Southwest:

Seeming changes in climate in the arid American Southwest are only changes in the land—the removal of vegetative cover by overgrazing or other abuse—with the result that there are more flash floods, erosion is accelerated, plants are less able to utilize what moisture sinks into the unprotected soil before it evaporates into the air.

In the current issue of *Free America*, Chauncey Stillman tells how the hardy Swiss with far less to work on than many an American farmer achieve remarkable success through skilful scientific methods. He concludes:

A bitter contrast rises to mind. Here is a craggy little country whose meanest slope responds to intelligent care. Back home one-third of the world's richest cropland has been turned to waste within two generations. The Dust Bowl widens out as we frantically plan more schemes to stop it, such as the production of phosphates on a gigantic scale. And all our schemes are futile because as a nation we have not learned the true nature of the soil nor man's relation to it. Will a few bio-dynamic farms stand forth, in another century, as green oases in the Great American Desert? Or before famine wins, will their slow influence spread from single farms and valleys and forests, widening out over verdant regions beyond the horizon?

Japan in China

ON OCTOBER 16, a representative headline (in the New York *Times*) pictured the important recent development in the Chinese war:

Hong Kong cut off from Canton area by Japanese drive. Communications on railway, road and river are ended by South China fighting. Macao also is isolated. Forty thousand invaders press on from Bias Bay—spokesmen threaten foreign areas.

For two or three days this new drive carried along with great success, and then the A.P. announced:

A force of 100,000 well-equipped Chinese troops, entrenched in strong positions forty-five miles east of Canton, was reported to have stopped the Japanese South China expedition tonight in bitter fighting.

The relationship of this new drive to Munich was dwelt upon in various periodicals. Before it opened, *Time* summarized post-Munich in part this way:

Britain is a sea power. . . . Japan, had Britain and France gone to war with Germany a fortnight ago, would have been able to seize Hong Kong at the end of the British life-line, which vibrated slightly last week with a fizzled putsch in Siam. Perhaps Singapore also would have fallen if the war had lasted even a few months. With these in Japanese hands the whole British stake in the Far East might have been lost, some £500,000,000 or more.

The *Christian Science Monitor* editorializes:

It is a far cry from Munich to Canton, but the Chinese are explaining the new Japanese campaign against Canton in terms of the Munich settlement. The reasoning is that the Japanese would never dare to launch such a campaign without some feeling in advance that the British would not actively oppose it. Such a feeling, according to the Chinese, is obviously based upon British "weakness" at Munich. . . . If the Japanese, however, think that just because of Munich, the British will watch their progress unmoved, they are likely to be mistaken. Already there have been "reminders" from the British Ambassador in Tokyo that British interests are involved in the South China area. This makes the situation much different from Czechoslovakia. In this latter country the British had little or no material interests at stake. In South China there are millions of dollars of British interests. . . .

Kurt Bloch writes for the New York *Times*:

More than mere coincidence links these Far Eastern developments with the peaceful surrender of Czechoslovakia. Are Britain and France likely to defend their Far Eastern interests against Japan, after deserting the Czechs? Evidently the Japanese military and naval authorities believe the answer is in the negative.

The magazine *Asia* backs up this view:

Reports from China, confirmed by abundant evidence in London, indicate that influential British business men in Shanghai are proposing to come to terms with the Japanese in the belief that their interests will be better served thus than by supporting the Chinese government.

The relationship between Russia and China and Japan is of interest from almost any point of view. H. J. Timperley says in *Asia*:

Three months ago I asked a high Chinese official who had recently visited Moscow if he could tell me just where the Russians stood with regard to the Sino-Japanese conflict. "Russia will not stand idly by and see Japan crush China," he assured me. "On the other hand, she does not wish to intervene in a military way if that can be avoided. So long as the Chinese appear to be holding their own she will confine herself to giving material aid in the way of mili-

tary supplies, for which we shall pay. But if the military situation should become really critical Russia will do something—either on the Siberian border or in Inner Mongolia.”

Edgar Snow, author of “Red Star over China,” writes in the same magazine:

Japan's Cumulative Plan.—Its aim is to outflank Russia in the north and in the west, building up Japanese-controlled land barriers everywhere between China and the component states of the U.S.S.R., and at the same time maintaining an invincibility in her seas—a supremacy ultimately capable of rejecting any American or European interference in the Pacific.

In San Francisco, David Warren Ryder publishes “Far Eastern Affairs” Pamphlets, which prescribe a different sort of neutrality than most of our press:

Thus far Japan seems to have won the military victories. But China has won the propaganda ones. . . . So it is not surprising that if one points out some of the fundamental facts in the Sino-Japanese controversy—facts which are concealed or ignored by newspapers catering to popular prejudices—he is immediately accused of being pro-Japanese. . . . Another of the Far Eastern fundamentals which most Americans have not been able to grasp is that the conflict in China is only in part a conflict between China and Japan; that in large measure it is a conflict between Japan and Soviet Russia, to determine whether capitalism or communism is to prevail throughout the Orient. . . . As long as this Red censorship of the American press obtains, the fundamentals of the Far Eastern situation will not get to the American public because nothing favorable to Japan or unfavorable to China will get into the American press. . . .

Another “fundamental” related to the economic aspect of the struggle in China is this:

The argument, for instance, that Japan will “slam the door” in the face of American trade, falls before the fact that since Manchuria came under Japanese influence our trade there has materially increased. . . . Furthermore, from 1936 to 1937 our trade in China gained only 6 percent, whereas in Manchukuo it increased 353 percent—58 times as much as it gained in China.

It is difficult to obtain information from mission sources about the present conflict which would add to such a survey as this, because the missionaries must be and are so carefully neutral. However, an article dealing with missionary history in China, by Reverend T. V. Fleming, S.J., in the London *Tablet*, is enlightening:

Catholic missionary activity in China may be divided into three main categories—the direct preaching of the Word of God, the Christian education of the rising generation and charitable works tending to relieve human suffering of every description. The first two activities have received a serious setback as the result of the Sino-Japanese conflict, but charitable organizations of every type have multiplied and developed to a degree never hitherto witnessed in China. Nevertheless, in spite of the good influence of these charitable labors, the present war is bound to retard the growth of the Catholic Church in China for some years to come. For, to begin with, the conflict is causing an immense destruction of mission property. . . . A still graver effect of the present conflict is the return of communist propaganda to China. The Chinese government, fighting for its very existence, has accepted help from the U.S.S.R.—but at a heavy price. According to the terms of the recent Sino-Soviet agreement the Russians, in return for war equipment, are to receive a free hand for communist propaganda. . . . As in 1926, so in 1938—China has been forced to compromise with communism in order to obtain urgently needed military equipment.

The Stage & Screen

Abe Lincoln in Illinois

UP TO the last act the great charm of Robert E. Sherwood's latest play is the charm of recognition. We all know the stories of Ann Rutledge and Mary Todd and of Lincoln's early political successes, we all know them and are interested in them. Therefore when they are put before us on the stage the dramatist's battle is already half won. When they are put before us as sympathetically as Mr. Sherwood has done and above all with a Lincoln so magnificently “in his habit as he lived” as that of Raymond Massey, the victory is complete. There have been numerous Lincolns in the American theatre, but probably none who has so completely filled the rôle, not only visually but spiritually as has Mr. Massey. Yet had the play ended with the second act it would have been but another play of the young Lincoln, a play made chiefly memorable by the verisimilitude of its chief protagonist. It would have been lifelike but non-electric. And then comes the last act and Mr. Sherwood's drama suddenly moves into epic proportions, taking on body and imaginative power. In the opening scene of the Lincoln-Douglas debate, in the scenes of his candidacy for the presidency, and above all his final adieu to his fellow citizens of Springfield as he leaves for Washington, this final act is informed with a rare dignity, even a majesty. In these scenes Mr. Sherwood reaches heights as a dramatist he has never reached before.

He is of course magnificently helped here by Mr. Massey, but unlike the opening acts the triumph is not merely one of recognition, either on the part of the dramatist or the actor—it is the triumph of the creative spirit. It would perhaps be too much to say that “Abe Lincoln in Illinois” is the finest play ever written by an American, though it would have been that if the first two acts had equalled the last. But, after all, it probably could not have been otherwise, for great themes make great art, and the great theme of Lincoln did not appear until his debates with Douglas. Most of the performances besides Mr. Massey's supreme one are admirable. Special words of praise should go to Lewis Martin's Ninian Edwards, Everett Charlton's Bob Armstrong, Wendell K. Phillips's William Herndon, Muriel Kirkland's Mary Todd, Albert Phillips's Stephen A. Douglas and George Christie's soldier and to Elmer Rice's direction and Jo Mileziner's settings. The Playwrights' Company has made an auspicious beginning in theatrical management. (At the Plymouth Theatre.)

Maurice Evans's Hamlet

MR. MAURICE EVANS is the most vigorous Hamlet of recent times, and yet he is far from an unpoetic one. His is a normal young man of strong feelings and keen intellect caught in a web woven of his own sensitivity and external circumstance, and unable quite to break from it. Again and again we feel he is about to

escape, for the native hue of his resolution is never quite sicklied o'er with the pale cast of his thought. He both understands his problem and struggles with it. He is at once reflective and active. There will be those to whom this is the negation of Hamlet. Those to whom Gielgud's neurasthenic Hamlet or Barrymore's slightly perverse one are ideal, will perhaps be of these, but the great mass of Hamlet lovers will welcome Mr. Evans as bringing health to a character who too often has smelt of the grave and even of the charnel-house. It is the genius of Shakespeare that no actor has ever exhausted the possibilities of Hamlet, and it is safe to say that no actor ever will. There are too many sides to his character, too many interpretations which can be placed upon those sides. Lack of virility, even effeminacy, have been the portion of some Hamlets, and while these actors have a right if they desire to make this interpretation, we may be thankful that Mr. Evans has sinned, if sin it be, on the other side. His Hamlet is manly first and last, manly, yet sensitive and understanding. Moreover, it is a Hamlet of extraordinary clarity; we are never at a loss for the meaning of his actions or his lines. Of the soliloquies I have found most poignant "O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I," and of his scenes the least successful his address to the players, which seemed to me to lack simplicity. But his scenes with Ophelia and with his mother were beautifully done.

It was, too, a delight to listen to "Hamlet" given in its entirety. For the first time in my experience I understood the action without recourse to my memory of the text. Shakespeare knew his business as a playwright, and when we cut his masterpieces we harm both the plot and the understanding of character. Of course the usual way of playing Hamlet, with emphasis on his weakness, would have been fatal, but given as Mr. Evans and his associates give it, and as Margaret Webster directs it, it is not a minute too long. Besides Mr. Evans, high words of praise are due to Henry Edwards for the best Claudius I have ever seen, to Mady Christians for her poignant Gertrude, to George Graham for his amusing Polonius, to Whitford Kane for his gravedigger. Also to Miss Katherine Locke, who, despite some deficiencies in her voice and delivery which made her opening scenes disappointing, recovered herself later to make her mad scenes the most poignant of any Ophelia of my experience. (At the St. James Theatre.)

I Have Been Here Before

MR. PRIESTLEY'S latest discussion of the mysteries of time is a better one than his last year's "Time and the Conways," but it is still pretty frail and amateurish, and in the way he introduces his idea through a German professor pretty naïf. Of course it has its moments of poignant dialogue and emotion, for it is not by one of England's most interesting novelists? But whatever he might have been able to do with the theme in a novel he has neither the time nor perhaps the skill to do in a play. The real interest of the evening lies in the superb acting of Wilfred Lawson, assisted by Eileen Beldon and Harry Rousby as the simple Yorkshire father and daughter. (At the Guild Theatre.) GRENVILLE VERNON.

Ah, Youth! Youth! Eternal Youth!

SOMEHOW in spite of its spectacular big scenes, "Suez" fails to be very stirring cinema. Handsome Tyrone Power does a good enough job as De Lesseps, the man of vision who saw the possibilities of a canal through the desert and who put his dream into action. But the rather flat love story woven around his career never quite comes to life. His infatuation for Loretta Young as the stunning Countess Eugenie who later becomes the Empress, and his mild interest in vivacious Annabella, the little hoiden who adores him, seem like impersonal extracurricular activities in the life of a great Frenchman. A large cast including Joseph Schildkraut, J. Edward Bromberg, Nigel Bruce and Miles Mander give excellent support to the leading players, who forget to grow perceptibly older as history piles up events and years. As a spectacle, "Suez" is worth seeing, especially for some splendid shots of the desert, a beautiful ballroom scene, the wild, destructive simoon sequences and that thrilling historical moment when Disraeli announces the Victoria-De Lesseps Company.

There are a lot of hearty laughs in Hal Roach's production, "There Goes My Heart," thanks mainly to Patsy Kelly and her cocksure manner of putting over lines and situations whether they involve arguments with the manager of a cafeteria or demonstrations of the newest vibrating machines. Frederick March comes through, too, in his best form as the wise-cracking, hard-boiled reporter who is sent to interview Virginia Bruce, the despised heiress, and ends up by falling for her. Based on a story by Ed Sullivan, about a girl who takes a run-out powder on her millionaire grandfather and gets a job in his department store, this picture's chief attraction is its side-splitting scenes that are tacked onto the plot. Alan Mowbray, Eugene Pallette and Claude Gillingwater help the comedy along.

If you have any idea that "Youth Takes a Fling" is a story of flaming youth, you're all wrong. It's a mild, innocuous bit about Joel McCrea, a lad from Kansas, who fell in love with the sea through books, and who is diverted from his ambition to be a sailor by pretty Andrea Leeds. Typical of the picture's shabby idea of romance is the non-Catholic heroine's going from her job in a Fifth Avenue department store to St. Patrick's Cathedral to pray at Saint Joseph's altar for a tall, handsome aviator, and then seeing Joel as soon as she returns to the store. Isabel Jeans runs circles around the rest of the cast with her fine acting; it's too bad she has to waste her intelligence and talents on the rôle of a much-married society dame.

It is obvious from the slow beginning of "Stablemates" that this racetrack picture will end with Mickey Rooney's riding the winning horse to fortune, and that this will be followed by the sad scene of parting between the boy and his adopted father, Wallace Beery. If you're a race-track addict, if you like the Rooney brand of histrionics, if you can take view after view of sloppy Mr. Beery squashing his nose all over his face with his dirtier hand, then you'll enjoy "Stablemates." PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Books of the Day

The Basis of Monopoly

Trade Associations in Law and Business, by Benjamin Kirsch and Harold Roland Shapiro. New York: Central Book Company. \$5.00.

LARGE and small undertakings profit by efficiency. Efficiency is largely the outcome of knowledge precipitated into flexible habits of action. Knowledge is primarily the possession of an individual. When it is shared, as common knowledge, it constitutes the preface to agreement. An agreement is common knowledge used to control multiple actions. Consequently it has the effect of focusing scattered energies on the attainment of a common objective. The objective of business for "business men" is profits. Profits come from efficiency and efficiency from agreement. Such, in an outline of abstractions, is the background for monopolies.

Monopolistic tendencies, inherent in all forms of business, are attempts at achieving the absolute accommodation of every means utilized by business to the end of maximum profits. To prohibit the fulfillment of these tendencies is the purpose of anti-trust laws. Absolute rationalization of any business when obtained exclusively in terms of one interest group can only be purchased at the expense of justice. Examined solely from the standpoint of owners and management a business is of course a going concern existing for profits. In the perspectives, however, of materialmen furnishing supplies, workmen transforming them, and consumers buying the finished product, the assumption that they themselves can be manipulated like everything else for the sake of profits is unjust. Anti-trust laws are intended to give effect to this condemnatory judgment with particular reference, however, to the rights of consumer groups. In effect the state, considering that the complaints of those who consume the products of a business must in the nature of things be unexpressed or, if rendered articulate, then ineffective at least as compared with the determinations of owners or management, takes upon itself the rôle of balancing interests. This is in part accomplished by means of anti-trust laws, the essential purpose of which is the prevention of price- and production-fixing agreement in any given business. Competition, "the life of trade," will, it is believed, regulate fair prices and will, in and of itself, at least in the long run, regulate adequately the expansion and contraction of production.

Trade Associations expertly analyzed from the legal standpoint in the book here under review exist to effect a rationalization of business without sacrifice of competition. Waste and unfair trade practises are sought to be eliminated; prudent conduct in the momentary and long time situations encountered by business management is sought to be facilitated. Cooperation among the representatives of competitors can readily pass over into illegal combinations in restraint of trade and thus bring about costly prosecutions initiated pursuant to the Sherman and cognate acts. Mr. Kirsch and Professor Shapiro here inform the reader of the methods whereby valuable results for management can be secured through associations which yet escape the taint of illegality. What can be done and what must be avoided as respects statistical reporting, uniform cost accounting methods, standardization, credit, boycotts, patents and similar matters constitute the

subject-matter of the study. The work gains in timeliness by reason of the recent creation of the National Economic Committee (the Monopoly Inquiry) which will study the question of monopolistic practises.

This book will prove useful and entirely intelligible to laymen as well as lawyer and may be recommended without qualification to the attention of anyone having direct or indirect concern with the general problem of monopolies.

JAMES N. VAUGHAN.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Hope in America, by John Strachey. New York: Modern Age Books. \$5.00.

THE ANALYSIS of the weaknesses of our economic structure and the palliatives of the New Deal, which is contained in this little book, though highly oversimplified, is remarkably keen. We simply have not solved the problem of who is to buy the goods produced and capable of being produced from our vast natural and industrial resources. Writing in words of two syllables the author carries the day until he brings his readers up short with the bland and unsubstantiated assertion that "in one part of the world alone . . . the Soviet Union, this question [of the equitable distribution of wealth] was solved." And in the brief portion devoted to Mr. Strachey's positive recommendations he describes present-day conditions in Russia in rosy generalities and then quickly guides the reader off the trail by defending at some length the recent Moscow trials.

Is it cricket for Mr. Strachey to expose our weaknesses so cruelly—and excoriate Fascist horrors so unqualifiedly—without as much as suggesting what terror, misery and injustice have marked and still mark the socialism which the Soviets enjoy and which the author has come over here to advocate? Socialism or rugged individualism is a false alternative. There is "Hope in America," but it lies in the development of intelligent class cooperation and new institutions rather than the blind introduction of the utopian scheme which Mr. Strachey advocates.

EDWARD SKILLIN, JR.

Pity the Persecutor, by Julius Gordon. New York: Richard R. Smith. \$2.00.

RABBI GORDON'S book makes an excellent point. What does a nation which resorts to pogroms and near pogroms lose in so doing? How much has Germany lost, to be specific? The question is not to be answered quantitatively alone, for example, by listing the number of Jewish scientists, artists and business leaders thus deprived of a chance to work for the good of the whole community. One must reckon also with the loss to "humanity" that results from the suppression of liberty and scientific inquiry. It is impossible to stamp out one minority without placing all minorities in relative bondage; and thus undermining that essential freedom based on human rights. The case made is intelligently, sympathetically made. It would be stronger if the author could bring himself to state realistically what the gains of suppression are, whether they be calculable in terms of broadened opportunities for other "racial stocks" or in terms of intellectual solidarity achieved by the sacrifice of Jewish "liberalism." It is my profound conviction that the Jew need not be afraid of such a comparison. And the effect upon non-Jews, especially those conscious of an anti-Semitic instinct within themselves, would be far more impressive. With much of the Rabbi's extraneous argument I cannot myself agree. G. S.

FICTION

Little Steel, by Upton Sinclair. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. \$2.50.

UPTON SINCLAIR here embodies in Walter Judson Quale, a kindly but befuddled steel man, the mass of American industrialists who would like to do the decent thing for their employees but lose their heads at the cry of "Red."

Bewildered by "Big Steel's" sudden acceptance of the CIO, Quale falls victim to a firm of industrial counsellors and is used as the "front man" in "Little Steel's" fight against the CIO. In the end his eyes are opened by the sacrifices of his idealistic youngest daughter, Jenny, who chooses sides with the workers.

Upton Sinclair's detachment is remarkable. He does not solve the problem. He does not put his finger on anyone as the culprit. He tells his story, and admirably describes the confusion caused by the current practise of name-calling, which makes every union organizer and sociologist a "Communist."

Sinclair's objectivity makes his book valuable. A reading of it ought to bring both workers and employers to a better understanding of the problems of each and the fundamental sincerity and good-will of both. The author is to be congratulated for resisting the temptation to make one side or the other the scoundrel.

It is depressing, however, to find Sinclair, on page 271, line 10, repeating the dreary canard that religion (presumably Christianity) teaches men not to oppose injustice. Why is it that men of his industry and mental caliber can manage to be informed and unprejudiced about everything except the most important thing? It would be a good wager to bet two to one that Sinclair has never read the social encyclicals of the Popes, is ignorant of Saint Thomas Aquinas, and is befuddled about the elementary doctrines of the Faith.

JOSEPH A. BREIG.

The Door of Life, by Enid Bagnold. New York: William Morrow and Company. \$2.50.

THIS is the story of an extraordinary adventure, the adventure of childbirth, not told from Wordsworth's "trailing clouds of glory" point of view, but with the mother as the central character and tempered with her relationship with her born and unborn children. Enid Bagnold's new novel is unlike "National Velvet," but it is obviously by the creator of that charming Brown family and their horsey daughter. With her keen observations, sound psychology and full sense of humor, Miss Bagnold tells about the days immediately before and after the birth, sometimes in straight narrative, sometimes in the stream of consciousness style and occasionally in Virginia Woolf's passage of liquid time manner. The story slowly rises to the exciting hour of birth and then sinks again to life's series of moderate anticipations and normality.

The Squire (so called because her husband is away on his annual trip to Bombay and she is the head of the large household) is sunk in stupefied content as the book opens. For the embryo she feels no tenderness, only keen expectation. She is safe, beyond the restlessness of her neighbor, Lady Caroline, who still frets about love and men. Instead of the company of her contemporaries, she prefers to watch and guess about her four children; the newness of their conversation always amazes her. The author has done a good job in depicting these children: Henry, four, on the verge of losing his baby kingdom; strange, silent

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Boniface, seven, who screams when disturbed from his reading; Lucy, matter-of-fact and questioning; and Jay, the eldest, whose hobby is mailing coupons. Enid Bagnold has drawn all her characters well: the midwife arriving upset because at her last case there was birth but no maternity; Pratt, the butler, who hates women (interspersed in the main story are the incidents of the Squire's many woes with her seven servants: "this feudal nonsense in a toppling world"); Nurse; the other domestics; and especially the Squire.

Although a lingering thought of death looms over her, the Squire has no fear of birth; she considers herself one in a line of women, with her mother behind her and Lucy in front. Unsentimental, calm, efficient, she is an archway through which her children flowed, and what she does for them she does for herself. "So it was you!" she says to her baby boy when nine months of wondering is solved in one second. "The Door of Life" with its frank and healthy attitude toward childbirth is a book that both men and women will enjoy and many will read with profit.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

Dead Ned, by John Masefield. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

MR. MASEFIELD turns here to the kind of vigorous and exciting tale that he produced in "Sard Harker," and once again we have an exemplification of his characteristic merits—if also of his characteristic faults. Which is to say that he has genius but also a shocking lack of artistic conscience. Only now and then—say in "Dauber" and "Reynard the Fox" and "Nan"—has he succeeded in imposing upon his material the symmetry of art, and even then we can see, after we have got over our breathless wonder, that we have really only shut our eyes against the flaws in the work.

So in "Dead Ned" the melodramatic and the improbable are freely dished up, but the reader feels it unseemly to complain because of the genuineness of the accompanying magic. If we cannot, even with the best will in the world, quite bring ourselves to believe that the hero, Edward Mansell, has been brought back to life after being hanged at Tyburn, it must be admitted that no greater actuality could be imparted to the scenes of the inquest and the trial and of Newgate prison. And that, after all, is what matters.

The story, written in autobiographical form, is about the fortunes—or rather, misfortunes—that overtake a young doctor who, after having saved the life of a retired Admiral and being adopted as his heir, is found guilty of his murder and executed. In switchback scenes we have slave-trading and hunting for pirates, as in the body of the story Mr. Masefield is generous in his supply of eighteenth-century prize-fighting, fairs, fortune-telling and salty lustiness in general. And the book ends with Ned Mansell, rescued from the gallows, being smuggled out as ship's doctor on a slaver.

Not until the last line of the book are we told that Dead Ned's adventures are "to be continued in our next." What we are really given is half a novel, snapped off at its most exciting moment. No writer would be impudent enough to play such a trick on his readers, but Mr. Masefield's innocence is so naive that it is impossible not to forgive him. And the part he has provided is so thrilling that—after a moment's annoyance at being cheated—we can only say, "But please, Mr. Masefield, hurry up with the rest."

JOHN KENNETH MERTON.

HISTORY

From Many Centuries, by Francis S. Betten, S.J. New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. \$1.00.

IN THIS collection of nineteen essays, which range from the Acts of the Apostles to the late Jesuit historian, Hartmann Grisar, and include special studies on Saint Peter Canisius, Saint Bede and Saint Boniface, Father Betten investigates a number of thorny historical questions in the way recommended by Pope Leo XIII, and demanded by sound historiography, namely, *adeundis rerum fontibus*—by going directly to the sources. Monsignor Peter Guilday, in an appropriate introduction, pays a well-merited tribute to the venerable scholar who has done so much to increase and diffuse historical knowledge in this country.

This reviewer does not know of a more convincing statement and demonstration of the modern Catholic historical method than is contained in this specially priced volume. "We shall not seek information from modern authors," Father Betten tells us, "either Catholic or Protestant, nor shall we be satisfied by their assurance that they base their representations upon the sources. We shall approach the documents themselves. We shall read them, and read them entirely; not omitting anything that may bear upon our subject, and drawing only those conclusions which the facts we glean from them will suggest. On the other hand, we shall affirm nothing that is not borne out by the sources. We shall not proceed from any preconceived view, but shall take the documents as our starting point, and shall try to discover what they have to communicate, what message they have to convey to us."

We possess an adequate number of writers who are unable to distinguish between history and apologetic. For this reason Catholic historians are quite generally classified as special pleaders who dare not tell the complete truth about the Church. Father Betten has never been guilty of this lamentable confusion. The full truth, he properly insists, is always in favor of the Church. God grant that Father Betten's like be multiplied in our midst.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR.

Italy at the Peace Conference, by René Albrecht-Carrié; with an Introduction by James T. Shotwell. New York: Columbia University Press. \$5.25.

IT IS a queer commentary on the modern world that the next world war is menacing civilization before the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has finished publishing documents about the last one. Yet though cynics may jeer, it is doubtful if there is any better way of dissuading mankind from future follies than pointing out past ones.

This latest volume in the Endowment's excellent series is Mr. René Albrecht-Carrié's study of "Italy at the Peace Conference." The title is a little misleading, since the book necessarily has to survey the diplomacy that led up to the iniquitous Treaty of London and Italian entrance in the World War; the period of the war itself, including the entrance of America, with war aims a good deal more idealistic than Italy's; and only then the Peace Conference.

The author maintains an excellent sense of proportion, however, and polishes off his preliminaries in less than sixty pages, while devoting almost three hundred to the squabbles at the Peace Conference, and two hundred to original documents, all of which are in English. Few of these documents are new, but they are so widely scattered

that it is probably worth while having them gathered up within a single binding.

The book is a careful and competent survey of documentary information and adds some data from unpublished sources. A good deal more probably exists but it would be hopeless to delay a book of this sort in order to wait for it to become available. The German absorption of Czechoslovak territory adds a certain interest to this study, since it is always possible that there may some day be a similar incident between Italy and Yugoslavia as a result of the population problems here described. Mr. Albrecht-Carrié believes that the agreements at Rome in 1924 left them with "normal, if not genuinely friendly, relations."

There is a good index and bibliography and the whole is an excellent example of stout and sober book-making.

JOHN BAKELESS.

Public Plunder, by David Loth. New York: Carrick and Evans. \$3.00.

"WHATEVER the slogans of the moment, the grafter and the rugged individualists have always moved hand in hand to create the massive, complex machinery of modern capitalism by which the world lives" (Op. cit., page 12). The story of the relationship between the grafter and the individualist is that which Mr. Loth unfolds.

The story begins with Governor Argall of Virginia. It ends with "Jim" Farley. Crowded in between are studies of such well-known figures as Van Buren, "Boss" Croker, "Al" Capone and "Sam" Insull. Here we meet again the "gang" that exploited the pathetic Grant, and the "gang" surrounding the less understandable Harding. It is an ugly story, and it could have been an interesting one to write. But Mr. Loth's book is uneven. It is nowhere especially distinguished by good writing. That part of the book, however, dealing with post-war politics possesses a verve that the earlier sections lack. Perhaps that is because the author is concerned with two things: Why is there corruption in politics? What can be done about it? These questions and their answers have meaning only in terms of Mr. Loth's belief. Mr. Loth believes that politics are bottomed on economics. His astigmatism leads to unfair emphasis. To illustrate: The Spanish-American war was economically motivated (page 249). This is definitely not true. Again: Walter Hines Page's now famous cable to Woodrow Wilson only partially illuminates the reasons for our entrance into the World War. It has not the importance that Mr. Loth attaches to it (page 292).

Why is there corruption in politics? Mr. Loth has a hobgoblin. The hobgoblin is the system of private enterprise. "Business buccaneers" in the eighties for example, had no sense of social responsibility. Worse still, "their view of the nature of private enterprise was shared by all except an extremely small minority of their contemporaries" (page 210). Granted that this was true Mr. Loth fails to point out both the fact and the possibility of a growth of social consciousness. The George Baers of this country have not altogether passed away. But while there are "Tom" Girdlers, there are also Melvin Traylors. Mr. Loth is forced to admit ethical progress in politics (page 306). He admits that our Civil Service has developed honesty (page 304). Business, he says, lagged behind (page 306).

Mr. Loth has a solution to make business catch up—to abolish graft. "The true solution of the problem is to

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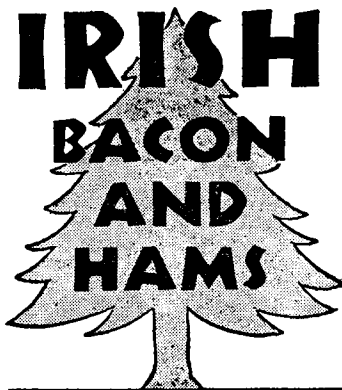
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overthrow the economy of profit for one of use" (page 417). There is clearly no evidence that so-called "economy for use" is feasible. History fails completely to come to our aid in this respect. Moreover, "economy for use" is a phrase representing an undefined state of mind, and not reality. History demonstrates that reform is a slow, gradual process. Revolution was never so little justified as by the existence of "public plunder."

FRANCIS DOWNING.

Foreign Policy in the Making, by Carl Joachim Friedrich. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.00.

THE AUTHOR of this stimulating book firmly believes that when permanent peace does come, it will be by way of constitutional government, in an international area. In these thoughtful pages he examines the obstacles to international organization for peace faced by the self-governing states. Among them are: the diverse and often conflicting interests of the "people" who wish peace but will not give up other wants to attain it; the difficulty of getting the average citizen to consider foreign policy, on which he is often uninformed, as of one piece with domestic policy, in which he is interested (as in the case of reparations and tariffs); the pressure of such public opinion and of special interests on democratic foreign policy; the disastrous effects of party politics on the needed continuity of such policy; the constant shift of alignments in Europe, due often to party defeats—and the consequent shift of the balance of power.

Analysis of changes in the balance of power since the World War occupies the major portion of the work. Dr. Friedrich holds that every such balance has a balancer, and that security and national aggrandizement sometimes dispute this function with statesmen's desires for peace. He supports this thesis from references to early leagues and federal states, balanced either internally by skilful balancing of powers or of diverging group interests, or externally in resistance to outside pressure. The League of Nations, conceived as an alternative to Balance of Power diplomacy, was never strong enough to be a balancer within itself, between its members. Any threatening national army could set it at naught, strong powers remained outside, and France used its leadership for national aims.

Once these facts were realized, conscious efforts were made to set up a new balance, both inside and outside of the League of Nations, and the United States was drawn into the Dawes Plan. The Locarno Pact and the Treaty of Berlin between Germany and Russia were planned to strengthen the arm of the League of Nations, but in reality revealed more clearly the drift away from the international principle. A number of forces contributed to the strain under which the new balance broke—the reparations question, the arguments over disarmament, the Austrian customs union, and the resort to violence—and the result is our present international anarchy.

Dr. Friedrich suggests that any effectual international organization must have a "common superior, a true federal unity." His feeling that a "Pax Britannica" is illusory is supported by the events of the past few weeks. He offers no solutions, and ends on the hope that democracies, instead of participating in ideological warfare, bend their energies to making democracy succeed within their borders, by making their own nations better places to live in. In that hope, pitiful though it may be, we all share.

ELIZABETH M. LYNKEY.

The Inner Forum

OCTOBER 23 was Mission Sunday. Everywhere appeals were made for the support of the missions, for the Holy See places particular reliance on American generosity to take the place of the contributions which can no longer come from Germany and Austria. The last ten years have seen a great increase in the number of conversions in all the mission fields, in the creation of a native clergy, in the spread of native Christian art and architecture. But conditions in Europe are beginning to threaten the supply not only of mission funds but of missionaries, and the native establishments are almost nowhere strong enough to be self-supporting as yet. . . . Yet we still receive news of mass-conversions, a phenomenon common enough today but most uncommon a few years ago. . . . In his appeal for Mission Sunday, Archbishop Costantini, secretary of the Congregation Propaganda Fide and president of the Pontifical Society for the Propagation of the Faith, gave a few statistics. There are today 14,329 foreign missionary priests, 6,973 native priests, 15,979 seminarians, 10,055 foreign and native Brothers, 55,349 foreign and native Sisters, 163,430 catechists. This means that the Church has to support a veritable mission army of over a quarter of a million people in charge of infinitely varied activities devoted to spiritual and temporal works in non-Christian lands. Writes the Archbishop: "In certain parts of India, Africa and China, the hour of God has arrived. The multitudes are turning to the missionaries. But it is necessary to instruct these multitudes; priests, catechists and Sisters must be sent to them. Funds, large funds, are necessary for such an accomplishment. . . . In the missions, the new Christians who live among the pagans understand the duty of solidarity with the missionaries. The Bishop of troubled Canton writes: 'I am sending a small collection for the Propagation of the Faith. . . .'"

. . . A few months ago this department noted the possibility that the 1939 Pax Romana Congress would take place in the United States. This question has now been settled; the meeting will take place in New York and Washington during next summer, and an American, Mr. Edward Kirchner, has been elected president of Pax Romana.

CONTRIBUTORS

Kappo PHELAN, writer and stage director, has been connected with the Civic Repertory Theatre and the Federal Theatre.
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